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HISTORY OF THE POPES

VOL. XXXIX.

PASTOR'S HISTORY OF THE POPES

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THE HISTORY OF THE POPES

FROM THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES

DRAWN FROM THE SECRET ARCHIVES OF THE VATICAN AND OTHER
ORIGINAL SOURCES

FROM THE GERMAN OF THE LATE

LUDWIG, FREIHERR VON PASTOR

TRANSLATED BY

E. F. PEELER

VOLUME XXXIX

PIUS VI. (1775-1799)

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“ Privilegia, inquam, istius sedis vel Ecclesiae perpetua sunt ;
divinitus radicata atque plantata sunt ; impingi possunt, trans-
ferri non possunt ; trahi possunt, evelli non possunt.”

NICOLAI PAPAE I., *Ep. 86 ad Michaellem imperatorem*,
a. 865 ; Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 119, 948c.

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CHAPTER I.

THE ELECTION OF PIUS VI.—HIS PREVIOUS LIFE AND PERSONALITY—HIS GOVERNMENT OF THE STATES OF THE CHURCH—HIS ENCOURAGEMENT OF LEARNING.

(1)

As was only to be expected, when writing of the lately deceased Pope, the representatives of the political Powers were all but unanimous in their praise of his good sense and his love of peace.¹ The only exception was the Imperial agent Brunati. Although no friend of the Jesuits and completely under the influence of the current modes of thought in his conception of ecclesiastical problems, he wrote these hard words: "At the death of Clement XIV. the affairs of the Holy See were in complete confusion—the inevitable result of the Pope's neglect of business and the fickleness and caprice of his little band of incompetent and unscrupulous favourites, who had control of everything." ²

Naturally, the Powers were eagerly desirous of another Pope of the same kind as Clement XIV. When he died the European Cabinets followed the electoral negotiations in Rome ³ with the same lively interest as they had done five years previously, at the elevation of Ganganeli. Whereas

¹ Cf., *inter alia*, Roda's letters to Moñino of October 4 and 18, Grimaldi's letter to Tanucci of the 11th, and, in particular, those from Roda and Grimaldi to Moñino, also of October 11, 1774, in PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, 59 *seqq.*, 107, 79 *seqq.*, 82 *seqq.*, 84 *seq.*

² Brunati's *report to Vienna, of October 2, 1774; Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican.

³ The latest and fullest description of the conclave is PACHECO Y DE LEYVA's *El conclave de 1774 a 1775* (Junta para ampliación de estudios e investigaciones científicas, Escuela Española en Roma, Obras 2), Madrid, 1915, consisting of an account (213 pp.) and the reproduction of all the Spanish documents of interest (565 pp.). ERNST HARDER's dissertation, *Der Einfluss Portugals*

then they were bent on securing a Pope who would offer them good prospects of suppressing the Society of Jesus or would allow himself to make some binding promises, it was now their task to maintain and confirm what they had gained in the last pontificate against the attacks of the pro-Jesuits.¹

Their task was made more difficult by the dissatisfaction felt by certain members of the Sacred College with the yielding attitude of the late Pope and their desire for more freedom from political influences. Ganganelli's friends were also at a disadvantage through his refusal to nominate before his death the eleven Cardinals he had reserved *in petto* on April 16th, 1773, which meant that his creatures were outnumbered by the other members of the College.² Their one hope was that in view of the small number of electors—no fewer than fifteen Cardinals' hats were to be disposed of, and some of the Cardinals still living were seriously ill—the numerically weak group of Crown Cardinals would carry a proportionately greater weight.

This being the situation, in order to preserve what they had won, the Bourbon Courts were intent on ensuring that those

bei der Wahl Pius' VI. (Königsberg, 1882), has little solid substance and is noteworthy only for the documents it cites. The conclave is discussed from the French angle by GENDRY in his *Le conclave de 1774-1775*, in the *Revue des questions historiques*, LI. (1892), 424 *seqq.*, which is reproduced word for word in his *Pie VI.*, vol. I., 65 *seqq.*; *cf.* also MASSON, *Bernis*, 300 *seqq.* Austria's position is mentioned in ARNETH, IX., 125, and WOLFSGRUBER, *Migazzi*, 224 *seqq.* *Cf.* also PETRUCCELLI, IV., 211-244; EISLER, 145, 206. Further works are mentioned in PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, CCXV *seqq.*

¹ PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, lvi. Charles III. *wrote to Tanucci on September 20, 1774, that they must pray for the Pope in his serious illness, "porque me parece que seria imposible hallar otro igual y que nos quiera como el nos quiere" (State Archives, Naples).

² Brunati's *report to Vienna of October 2, 1774 (Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican). *Cf.* GENDRY, *Pie VI.*, I., 66, and our account, vol. XXXVIII., 531 *seq.*

Cardinals who were dependent on political Courts should agree on a uniform method of procedure. Weeks before the Pope had died Moñino, in his report of August 17th, 1774,¹ had made the request for an unconditional union of the Crowns at the conclave which was likely to take place in the near future. In the following weeks he tried to effect agreements with Cardinals Bernis and Orsini as the representatives of France and Naples.² Successful steps in this direction were also taken by Madrid in Paris³ and Vienna.⁴ Similarly, it was important to have a close understanding with Portugal. An autograph letter from the Spanish king Charles III. to his sister, the wife of Joseph I. of Portugal, elicited a reply from Pombal on October 19th,⁵ enclosing the instruction of the Portuguese Government for their Roman representative Almada.⁶ This

¹ PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, 16 *seqq.* On September 6, Grimaldi asked for a full report on the Papabili, which was sent on the 15th (*v. ibid.*, 24, 32 *seqq.*). A further report on the characters of the Cardinals was sent by Brunati on September 28, 1774, to the Court of Vienna (*'Considerazioni sopra il prossimo conclave', Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican).

² Moñino to Grimaldi on September 15 (first report) and 22 (both reports), 1774, in PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, 29, 45 *seq.*, 47; *cf. ibid.*, lxi-lxvi. On September 22, 1774, Moñino *wrote to Tanucci that he had instructed Orsini to work in unison with France and Spain, so that the new Pope "non distruggerà quanto sta fatto" (State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, 1136).

³ Vergennes' report to Ossun, October 1, 1774, in PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, 74 *seq.*

⁴ Grimaldi to Moñino, October 1, 1774, *ibid.*, 58. The French Government also sent couriers to Vienna and Madrid for the purpose of ensuring that the Courts should act in concert at the conclave (*v. Alessandro Albani's* *report to the Imperial Chancery in Vienna, of October 15, 1774, Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican).

⁵ HARDER, 42, 60.

⁶ Text of the instruction and that of the interesting enclosure, "Papal dos motivos," which purported to substantiate the historic right of the Portuguese Crown to a formal exclusion, in HARDER, 43 *seqq.*, 56 *seqq.* Pombal followed this up by sending

was taken to Rome by a Spanish courier.¹ At the same time Charles III. had come to a similar understanding with his son Ferdinand IV. of Naples.

The agreement of all the Courts was thus effected. According to their instructions the representatives of the Powers were to try to bring about the election of a suitable Pope in complete agreement with each other and with absolute mutual confidence.² Even the Viennese Government joined the union unconditionally ; although it had taken no immediate part in the suppression of the Society of Jesus it had no desire to upset the decision once it had been taken ; on the contrary, it would agree to any measure, even an extreme one, being taken against a candidate who was not prepared to abide by the *status quo*.³ Pombal's instruction⁴ went so far as to suggest that all the Courts should make a common declaration to the Sacred College that the election of anyone friendly to the suppressed Society of Jesus would seriously endanger the peace and security of the Church as well as the States and that the Courts would exercise the official general exclusion against such a candidate. If this declaration failed of the desired effect, the conclave would be suspended on account of the notorious incompetency and the violent dissension of the electors.

Thus it was that Moñino, who, although not a member of

Almada an Italian translation to facilitate the negotiations, especially those with Moñino (*v.* Pombal's letter of November 3, 1774, *ibid.*, 63 *seq.*).

¹ The courier reached Rome on November 9 (*ibid.*, 72). It was soon known that Portugal would act in concert with Spain (*cf.* Brunati's *report to Vienna of November 12, 1774, Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican). *Cf.* Grimaldi to Moñino on October 15, 1774, in PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, 98.

² Thus Bernis' instruction from Paris. *Cf.* PETRUCELLI, IV., 217 ; similarly Orsini to Tanucci, *ibid.*, 213.

³ WOLFSGRUBER, 229 *seqq.* ; similarly the *instruction for Vienna's envoy extraordinary, Prince Corsini (Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican).

⁴ HARDER, 72.

the conclave, was the actual leader of the Crown Cardinals,¹ was able to inform the Cardinal Dean, Gianfrancesco Albani,² in an interview, of the fundamental views of the Catholic Cabinets on the forthcoming Papal election. The messages of condolence from the princes which were subsequently received by the College of Cardinals were of a similar tenor.³ With this the Crowns seemed to have attained the most complete union possible and yet the interests of the various countries differed so greatly that it was not long before certain dissensions within as without the conclave threatened to terminate the union.⁴

The position of the Crown Cardinals in the conclave was made more difficult still by the formation of a united front of their co-electors, who with a like determination opposed any sort of influence of the political Powers on the Papal election and on the whole government of the Church. Their objection to the aims of the Courts was so strong that all their other differences paled before it. Thus, Cardinals created by Clement XIII., led by the Camerlengo Carlo Rezzonico, came into close contact with some of the last pontificate, headed by the weak and unattractive Marefoschi,⁵ and there was even a union with Gianfrancesco Albani's group of *Zelanti*.⁶ Their

¹ Brunati's " *Considerazioni " of October 1, 1774 (Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican). *Brunati to Colloredo on the same day (State Archives, Vienna).

² Moñino to Grimaldi, September 29, 1774 (first report), in PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, 50 *seqq.*; HARDER, 78. On Almada's instructions, Orsini handed in a similar communication on Portugal's behalf on November 17 (HARDER, 74 *seqq.*, 81 *seqq.*). Moñino's intervention annoyed the opposite side " per il tuono alto " (Brunati's " *Considerazioni " of September 28, 1774, *loc. cit.*).

³ Portugal's in HARDER, 77; for Spain's *cf.* Brunati's *report of November 12, 1774 (*loc. cit.*).

⁴ Corsini's " *Dispaccio " to Vienna of December 21, 1774 (*ibid.*).

⁵ Brunati's " *Considerazioni " of September 28, 1774 (*ibid.*).

⁶ Corsini's " *Dispaccio " of November 23, 1774 (*ibid.*).

aim was to preserve the immunity of the Church, to rescue the Papacy from the enthrallment of the Catholic princes, and to restore the Bull *In Cæna Domini* to its former effectiveness¹; naturally, also, many of these Cardinals were moved by their desire to see the Society of Jesus restored.²

Both this group of independents and that of the Crown Cardinals could reckon on eighteen to twenty supporters if they canvassed them energetically. There was also a small number of neutrals whom Cardinal Alessandro Albani estimated at seven in one of his reports.³

This being the division of the parties it was commonly thought that the late Pope would be succeeded neither by one of his outspoken opponents nor by one of his whole-hearted supporters.⁴ Thus, many people in Rome thought that of Rezzonico's group Boschi had the best prospects of success.⁵ Of the other members of the union of independents the best

¹ " *Che la Chiesa è in schiavitù de' principi cattolici, che conviene liberarla da questa tirannia, rimettere in vigore la Bolla ' In Coena Domini ' e riparare alle passate devastazioni." Brunati's report to the Tuscan Court of October 12, 1774 (State Archives, Florence, Reggenza 347; similarly to Vienna, cf. Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican).

² PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, xxvii. Cf. *Moñino to Grimaldi on December 15, 1774, and *to Figueroa on January 5, 1775 (Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Reg. 112; not mentioned in PACHECO Y DE LEYVA).

³ Alessandro Albani's *report of November 26, 1774 (Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican). At that time there were already forty-three Cardinals in conclave and only Solis was expected. Cf. the " *Memoria presentata a di lui richièsta all' em. Card. Migazzi " of November 21, 1774 (*ibid.*).

⁴ Brunati's " *Considerazioni " of September 28, 1774 (*ibid.*). Brunati had forecast the outcome of the conclave very well: most of the Cardinals would join with the *Zelanti* " *ad eleggere persona non aliena alle suddette corti, ma anche non troppo addetta alle medesime ". (ARNETH, IX., 126.)

⁵ Moñino to Grimaldi, October 13, 1774, in PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, 85 *seqq.* Brunati's *report to the Tuscan Government, October 8, 1774, *loc. cit.* (similarly to Vienna, cf. *loc. cit.*).

chances seemed to be held by Marcantonio and Pamfili Colonna, Bufalini, Braschi, and, not to mention Gianfrancesco Albani, Fantuzzi in particular.¹ The Crown parties had not agreed on any particular exclusions² or any particular *Papabili*, though their various Courts had their different favourites. Thus, the Viennese Government used its influence to support Visconti in particular, while that of Madrid did the same for Pallavicini, a relative of Grimaldi's. Besides Negroni, Simone, and Casali, Marefoschi, Malvezzi, Zelada, Corsini, and Caracciolo were also considered to be Crown candidates.³

Within the conclave the most important Courts were represented by their Crown Cardinals: France by Bernis, Spain by Solis,⁴ Naples by Orsini, Portugal to some extent by Conti.⁵ It was not so easy to find a suitable representative for Vienna, as the Crown Protector Alessandro Albani did not enjoy the complete confidence of the Bourbon party. Accordingly, Maria Theresa selected Migazzi, the Archbishop of Vienna, as the confidential promoter of her desires, but as this choice was not particularly welcome either to Emperor Joseph II. or Prince Kaunitz, Migazzi received precise instructions binding him to a definite line of procedure and was especially to co-operate loyally with Albani.⁶ Migazzi,

¹ PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, lxxv seq.; Moñino to Grimaldi, September 15, 1774 (second report), *ibid.*, 32 seqq.

² Only general exclusions were agreed on. Cf. Grimaldi to Tanucci, October 11, 1774, *ibid.*, 79 seqq.; cf. *ibid.*, lxxix; WOLFSGRUBER, 235.

³ PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, lxxiv, and Moñino's second report to Grimaldi, September 15, 1774, *ibid.*, 32 seqq.

⁴ Solis was the only Spaniard in the conclave. Grimaldi's request to him to set out on his journey in his two letters of October 10, 1774 (*ibid.*, 76 seq.).

⁵ Brunati's " *Considerazioni " of September 28, 1774 (*loc. cit.*). Conti was the nuncio to Lisbon and hoped to be given the protectorate which had been vacant since the death of Neri Corsini.

⁶ WOLFSGRUBER, 229 seqq., 234 seq.; ARNETH, IX., 126 seq.

the only German Cardinal in the conclave, justified the trust that had been reposed in him in such full measure that Albani often made mention in his dispatches of the considerate treatment he was receiving at the hands of the Viennese Archbishop.¹

The solemn nine-days' exequies for the late Pope began on September 26th, and on October 5th the Cardinals entered into conclave. In the morning the Mass of the Holy Ghost was celebrated by the Cardinal Dean, Gianfrancesco Albani, after which the customary address on the Papal election was given by Mgr. Stay. In the evening the doors of the conclave were closed on twenty-eight Cardinals and their attendants.² The place of election on this occasion was the Appartamenti Borgia, as the rooms hitherto used for this purpose had been rendered unhealthy by a granary which had been set up there by Clement XIV.³ In the weeks that followed many other Cardinals entered the conclave. Ill-health prevented the attendance of Cardinals Rossi, Colonna, and Stoppani on October 5th.⁴ The last-named died on November 18th, 1774,⁵ Rossi on February 4th, 1775.⁶

Only forty-four Cardinals took part eventually in the electoral proceedings, although on the death of Clement XIV. there were fifty-five members of the Sacred College. Of these, one had been created by Innocent XIII., fourteen by Benedict

¹ Alessandro Albani's *reports to the Imperial chancery of December 3, 1774, January 25 and February 15, 1775 (Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican).

² This number is vouched for in Moñino's letter to Grimaldi of October 6, 1774 (*loc. cit.*, 65 *seqq.*) and in Brunati's *report of October 5, 1774 (*loc. cit.*). GENDRY erred in giving the number as twenty-nine (*Revue des questions hist.*, *loc. cit.* 434).

³ GENDRY, I., 431.

⁴ Brunati's " *Considerazioni " of September 28, 1774 (Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican). *Brunati's report of October 5, 1774 (*ibid.*).

⁵ Alessandro Albani's *report to Colloredo of November 19, 1774 (State Archives, Vienna).

⁶ Corsini's " *Dispaccio " of February 4, 1775 (*ibid.*).

XIV., twenty-four by Clement XIII., and sixteen only by the late Pope.¹

As on so many previous occasions, the Crown Cardinals feared during the first few days of the conclave that the opposing side would take advantage of their temporary numerical superiority to rush through the election of one of themselves, and in fact in the first scrutinies several votes were cast for Cardinals Marcantonio and Pamfilì Colonna, but probably only for the purpose of forcing the political Powers to exercise a formal exclusion.² Bernis and Orsini now wrote a joint letter to the Dean of the College urgently requesting him to postpone any serious electoral procedure until the arrival of the other foreign Cardinals.³ Moñino had insisted on this⁴ and the King of France afterwards commended the action of his Cardinal Minister.⁵

In spite of considerable opposition this request was met.⁶ The inactivity to which the Sacred College thus condemned itself⁷ lasted throughout October. It was not till November 4th that Luynes entered the conclave,⁸ and Migazzi and Solis

¹ Brunati's " *Considerazioni " of September 27, 1774, and " *Memoria presentata per il card. Migazzi ", of November 21, 1774, *ibid.*; PETRUCELLI, IV., 211.

² *Albani to the Imperial chancery on October 8, 1774, and Brunati's *report of October 12 (*loc. cit.*).

³ Text in PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, 94 *seqq.* Cf. Moñino to Orsini, October 13, 1774 (*ibid.*, 93 *seq.*). For the justification of this declaration, cf. Moñino to Grimaldi on October 20, 1774 (*ibid.*, 109 *seqq.*).

⁴ Moñino to Cardinal Solis, undated (*ibid.*, 120 *seq.*).

⁵ *Albani to the Imperial chancery on October 15, 1774 (*loc. cit.*).

⁶ For the memorandum of a Zelante to the Dean, protesting against the demand on the score of its illegality, v. EISLER, 206; GENDRY, I., 67.

⁷ Albani's *letters to the Imperial chancery of October 20, 22, 26, and 29, 1774 (*loc. cit.*). Tiepolo to the Doge of Venice, October 22, 1774, printed in *Nozze Buttarò-Barbaro*, Venezia, 1896, 9 *seqq.*

⁸ *Albani to the Imperial chancery, November 5, 1774 (*loc. cit.*).

kept it waiting even longer. In the first weeks of November a certain dissatisfaction with the postponement of the election made itself felt,¹ and on the 12th the Cardinal Ministers found it necessary to repeat their urgent request to the Dean.² Little good, therefore, had been done by offering Mass on All Souls' Day in the conclave for a speedy election instead of for the repose of the faithful departed.³

As week after week went by without any serious attempt being made to elect a Pope, the Cardinals naturally became the object of ridicule. Of the usual crop of pasquinades the one to attract most notice was a parody in the form of a play, *Il conclave dell' anno 1774*, which was written in the melodramatic style of Metastasio and seemed to include that author as an object of derision.⁴ The Cardinals, especially Bernis,

¹ *Albani to the Imperial chancery, November 5 and 9, 1774 (*ibid.*).

² PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, 148. On the same day Almada, on Portugal's behalf, signified his adherence to the two declarations (*ibid.*, 149).

³ GENDRY, I., 71.

⁴ " *Il conclave dell' anno 1774*, dramma per musica da recitarsi nel teatro delle Dame nel carnevale del 1775 e dedicato alle medesime dame," MS. in *Cod. Vat. 9646 of the Vatican Library. Cf. *ibid.*, " *Memoriale a Pio VI., attribuito al Mg. G. Sertorsupposto autore." For further MSS. cf. *Rivista delle biblioteche*, XXV., 581. Subject-matter and judgment in R. GIANNELLI, *Un conclave in operetta*, in *Rivista d'Italia*, VI. (1903), 60 seqq.; L. CAPPELLETTI, *Il conclave del 1774 e la satira a Roma*, in *Bilychnis*, XI. (1918), 159-166; M. FORESI, *Del dramma satirico " Il Conclave " bruciato a Roma per mano del boia*, in *Il Piemonte*, III., 34-35; SILVAGNI, *La corte e la Società romana nei secoli XVIII. e XIX.*, vol. I., Roma, 1884, 246-267; further, TAVANTI, *Fasti di Pio VI.*, I., 53; BECCATINI, I., 94 seqq.; PETRUCCELLI, IV., 224; GENDRY, I., 71 seq.; PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, xci seqq.; finally Moñino to Grimaldi, November 24, 1774, in PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, 159 seq., and Corsini's " *Dispaccio " of November 19, 1774 (Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican). A quantity of other *satires of the most varied literary forms is preserved in the Campello Archives at Spoleto.

Zelada, and Negroni, were portrayed with biting sarcasm and the whole proceedings of the conclave were made a laughing-stock. The satire, which first appeared only in manuscript, had a vast success when it was printed, according to the title, by *Cracas*. The ecclesiastical authorities were compelled by the foreign ambassadors to intervene and the Holy Office confiscated the publication. The Governor of Rome offered a large reward for the discovery of the author and was soon successful in identifying him as the Florentine priest Gaetano Sertor.¹ Sertor denied the charge but he was sentenced to banishment.² The composition having found its way into the conclave itself, the Cardinals ordered it to be publicly burnt, which was done in the Piazza Colonna on November 19th.³ Its sale was forbidden in Rome, and the Spanish Inquisition followed suit by condemning the work and stopping its distribution.⁴

Meanwhile, the Imperial Government had appointed an envoy extraordinary to the conclave in the person of the Roman prince Bartolommeo Corsini,⁵ who on November 16th thanked the Imperial Court for this distinction and promised it his best services. Yet it was not till December 15th that Corsini was granted an audience with the conclave as the emperor's representative and three days later as that of the empress Maria Theresa.⁶ When the Elector Palatine was visiting Rome at the end of November he was paid the rare

¹ Corsini's " *Dispacci " of November 23 and 26, 1774 (*loc. cit.*). In the sources there occur also the variants " Sertori " and " Sartori ".

² Corsini's " *Dispacci " of November 3 and 14, 1774 (*ibid.*).

³ *Albani to the Imperial chancery, November 19, 1774 (*ibid.*).

⁴ PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, 306 *seq.*, xciii.

⁵ Moñino to Grimaldi, November 17, 1774 (*ibid.*, 153 *seqq.*). *Albani expressed his pleasure in a letter to the Imperial chancery of November 16, 1774 (*loc. cit.*). *Ibid.*, " *Instructio " for the " oratorem extraord. ad conclave 1774 ", *s.d.*

⁶ Corsini's " *Dispaccio " of December 19, 1774, with the printed report as an enclosure (Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican).

honour of being allowed to converse with the Cardinals. His stay in Rome was the cause of tedious negotiations in the matter of ceremonial.¹

Before Archbishop Migazzi entered the conclave on November 23rd ² he was handed a detailed memorandum on the state of the College of Cardinals by the Imperial agent Brunati.³ Brunati had long conversations with Moñino, too, both men promising to act in concert.⁴ Migazzi made the same arrangement with Bernis. Bernis offered Migazzi the leadership of the Crown parties and asked him to try to mediate with the *Zelanti*.⁵ The Viennese Cardinal straightway got into touch with the Camerlengo Rezzonico but at first the only reward of his efforts was to have to listen to a definite allusion to the exaggerated claims of the Courts.⁶

In mid-December Cardinal Solis finally occupied his cell.⁷ Meanwhile the various groups and parties had been carefully sounding each other on their views, whereby it transpired that in spite of all their promised concord there were differences of opinion among the Catholic Cabinets.⁸ Thus, according to the Viennese instruction the election of the two Genoese, Spinola and Pallavicini, was to be definitely avoided,⁹ but after various

¹ Corsini's " *Dispaccio " of November 30, 1774 (*ibid.*) ; GENDRY, I., 74.

² *Albani to the Imperial chancery on November 26, 1774 (*loc. cit.*).

³ " *Memoria presentata per il card. Migazzi," November 21, 1774 (*ibid.*).

⁴ Corsini's " *Dispaccio " of November 26, 1774 (*ibid.*).

⁵ Corsini's " *Dispaccio " of December 3, 1774 (*ibid.*) ; WOLFSGRUBER, 236.

⁶ Corsini's " *Dispaccio " of December 7, 1774 (*loc. cit.*).

⁷ *Albani to the Imperial chancery on December 10 and 14, 1774 (*ibid.*). How impatiently Migazzi was awaited is seen from Albani's *reports of November 26 and 30, 1774 (*ibid.*).

⁸ Corsini's " *Dispaccio " of December 21, 1774 (*ibid.*).

⁹ WOLFSGRUBER, 237, 239. Cf. also Colloredo's further *letter to Albani on December 23, 1774 (Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican).

conversations with Moñino Prince Corsini was convinced that Spain also rejected Spinola but would prefer Pallavicini to anyone else in the chair of St. Peter or at least in his old position of Secretary of State.¹ Moñino was not to be deflected from his plan by an allusion to possible objections on the part of the Court of Vienna, so that the latter had to be asked for fresh instructions on this point.²

But all efforts were bound to end in failure so long as the two chief parties failed to find a middle course. At Christmas it was thought that this object was on the point of achievement. It was hoped that the canvassing for Braschi would bring some tangible result within their grasp.³ This candidate's friend, Cardinal Giraud, was prominent in espousing his cause with all his strength and sought to win over the Crown parties. In several talks with the Spanish Cardinal Minister he pointed out how useful Braschi would be to the Catholic Courts, being in complete agreement with them and having as high an opinion as they of the late Pope's work.⁴ Solis at first persisted in supporting the Spanish manœuvres in favour of Pallavicini⁵ but he soon realized the hopelessness of his endeavours and engaged in fresh negotiations with Giraud and Gianfrancesco Albani on Braschi's candidature.⁶ Braschi's chief supporters on the opposite side were the Dean and the Camerlengo; they thought that they had already secured twenty-six votes for him and hoped to obtain the other four in the *accessus*.⁷ The

¹ Corsini's " *Dispacci " of December 7 and 10, 1774 (*ibid.*).

² *Albani to the Imperial chancery on December 3, 1774 (*ibid.*); Corsini's " *Dispaccio " of December 10, 1774 (*ibid.*).

³ *Albani to the Imperial chancery on December 28 and 31, 1774, and January 4, 1775, also Corsini's " *Dispaccio " of December 28, 1774 (*ibid.*). PETRUCELLI (229) errs in giving the date of the latter dispatch as December 18.

⁴ Moñino to Solis on December 23, 1774, and Solis to Moñino on December 24, 1774, in PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, 210 *seqq.*, 217 *seqq.*

⁵ Corsini's " *Dispaccio " of December 28, 1774 (*loc. cit.*).

⁶ Solis to Moñino on December 25, 1774 (*loc. cit.*, 223 *seqq.*).

⁷ PETRUCELLI, IV, 228.

question caused a visible excitement in the conclave which leaked out into the city. It then became known that serious objections to Braschi had been raised by the Austrian envoy Corsini¹ and, most prominently among others, the Portuguese representative, Almada.² The latter's objection was clearly of a personal nature, due to an unfavourable decision given by Braschi some time back on some Portuguese affair.³ Moñino still tried to reach an agreement by personal negotiation but his efforts met with no success⁴ and to preserve the unity of their group the Crown Cardinals were forced to give way. Consequently, as the year drew to an end, Solis and Bernis decided to abandon Braschi.⁵

In spite of the Austrian objection to Pallavicini's candidature Moñino and the Spanish group, which was soon joined by Bernis, again tried to push it,⁶ the Spanish ambassador even complaining to Corsini about the obstruction offered by the Viennese Cabinet.⁷ To avoid a painful decision the Austrian representatives, in accordance with their instruction, diverted the attention of the conclave to Visconti, the former nuncio to Vienna.⁸ This candidature was taken so seriously that the Governments in Madrid and Paris agreed on the

¹ Moñino had negotiated with him but with no success (*v. Moñino's second report to Solis of December 26, 1774, loc. cit., 231 seq.*).

² Roda to Moñino on January 17, 1775 (*ibid.*, 349 *seq.*).

³ HARDER, 104.

⁴ Moñino to Solis on December 27, 1774 (*loc. cit.*, 239 *seqq.*); Corsini's " *Dispacci " of December 28 and 31, 1774 (*loc. cit.*).

⁵ Aguirre and Solis to Moñino on December 27, 1774, in PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, 236 *seqq.*

⁶ Solis to Moñino on December 27, 1774, and January 2, 1775 (*ibid.*, 237 *seq.*, 262 *seq.*); *Corsini to Kaunitz on January 4, 1774 (Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican).

⁷ Corsini's " *Dispaccio " of January 7, 1775 (*ibid.*). Cf. Solis to Moñino and Moñino to Solis on January 2, 1775 (*loc. cit.*, 262 *seqq.*).

⁸ Solis to Moñino on January 2, 1775 (*ibid.*); Corsini's " *Dispacci " of January 7, 11, and 14, 1775 (*loc. cit.*).

attitude they would adopt towards it ¹ and Grimaldi wrote to Moñino at the beginning of January that if things became serious Spain would accept Visconti if there was no more suitable candidate who was likely to succeed.² Fresh difficulties were encountered by Migazzi when he tried to win over the *Zelanti*, as this party rejected Visconti out of hand on account of his conciliatory attitude towards the Jansenists of Utrecht.³ Another reason was that at that moment this set was working hard for Caracciolo, who, however, was anything but acceptable to the Spaniards.⁴

It thus became clear to all that in this state of affairs the two chief parties would continue to balance the scales against each other and that only some agreement between them could pave the way for a definite result. The *Zelanti* therefore proposed as mediator Zelada, who had connexions with both sides.⁵ Bernis and Moñino agreed to the proposal ⁶ and Zelada had a most cordial reception from Gianfrancesco Albani, Carlo Rezzonico, and Migazzi on presenting himself to them as a go-between.⁷ On January 10th Zelada proposed that each of the two chief parties should nominate say three Papabili whose prospects were to be ascertained by the secret questioning of the whole College; it was hoped in this way to make certain of a majority for one or other of the candidates. At first the Camerlengo asked for time in which to consider

¹ Ossun to Grimaldi on December 31, 1774, and Grimaldi to Ossun in Paris, January 1, 1775, in PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, 253 seq., 261.

² Grimaldi to Moñino, January 3, 1775 (both reports), *ibid.*, 269, 270.

³ *Corsini to Colloredo, January 14, 1775 (Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican).

⁴ Moñino to Solis on January 3 and 4, 1775 (*loc. cit.*, 271 seq., 273 seq.); Corsini's " *Dispaccio " of January 7, 1775 (*loc. cit.*).

⁵ Solis to Moñino and to Grimaldi, January 5, 1775 (*loc. cit.*, 280 seq., 283 seq.); *Albani to the Imperial chancery on January 11 and 18, 1775 (*loc. cit.*).

⁶ Moñino to Solis on January 5, 1775 (*loc. cit.*, 282).

⁷ Zelada to Moñino, January 7, 1775 (*ibid.*, 293).

whether he and his party would agree to the proposal.¹ Finally, the first discussion took place on the night of January 19th in Torrigiani's cell, at which there were present, besides Zelada and the Dean, the two Rezzonicos and Castelli.² Six candidates were agreed on and their prospects were to be investigated by the Dean, the Camerlengo, and a representative from the political groups; later on Cardinal York was chosen for this duty.³ Zelada was particularly pleased with the friendly and moderate atmosphere in which this talk was held.⁴

In nine days' time this same group compared the final results of their investigations only to find, to their great disappointment, that not one of their nominees had managed to muster a sufficient number of votes. Twenty-two votes were promised for Carlo Antonio Colonna, twenty for Pamfili Colonna, fifteen for Simone, nineteen for Torrigiani, sixteen for Negroni, and fourteen for Casali. Notwithstanding this setback it was decided to try the same method again and a second list of *Papabili* was agreed on; it consisted of Serbelloni, Malvezzi, Bufalini, Marefoschi, Conti, and Fantuzzi.⁵

But this second investigation proved no more successful than the first. At the end of the allotted period, on February

¹ Solis and Zelada to Moñino on January 10 and Zelada to Moñino on January 13, 1775 (*ibid.*, 308 seq., 312 seq., 332 seq.); *Albani to the Imperial chancery on January 25, 1775 (*loc. cit.*).

² Aguirre, Solis, and Zelada to Moñino on January 20, 1775, also Solis' second report to Grimaldi of January 26, 1775 (*loc. cit.*, 362 seq., 364 seq., 366 seq., 392 seq.).

³ The result of his activity was reported by Solis to Moñino in his second letter of January 28, 1775 (*ibid.*, 401 seq.).

⁴ Zelada to Moñino, January 20, 1775 (*loc. cit.*).

⁵ Solis to Moñino on January 29, 1775, and Solis to Moñino (second report) to Grimaldi on February 2, 1775, in PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, 403 seq., 419 seqq., 432 seq.; Corsini's " *Dispaccio " of February 1, 1775 (Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican). PETRUCELLI (IV., 232), while giving a correct account of the proceedings, cites as his source the dispatch of February 23, in which there is no mention of the business.

3rd, Bufalini had secured twenty votes and Fantuzzi sixteen, the others still less. The hopelessness of this systematic method of procedure was now acknowledged¹ and Zelada agreed with Bernis and Solis that it was no use trying it any longer.²

Meanwhile, independently of this investigatory method, negotiations in favour of individual *Papabili* were continued. Curiously enough, the most important of these were conducted on behalf of candidates who had already been considered, in particular Pallavicini, whose cause was promoted by the Spanish party, and Braschi, for whom the *Zelanti* were again trying to win supporters.³ Thus, on January 21st, 1775, Cardinal Alessandro Albani wrote a letter to the Imperial Chancellor Colloredo with the object of rendering Braschi's candidature acceptable to him and the Viennese Government, emphasizing his probity and competency.⁴ The great pains which the writer took with this composition is shown by its numerous corrections and the fact that there are several drafts of it. He also informed the Chancellor that he and Migazzi had been asked by Bernis as to their attitude towards this candidate and that they had had to answer evasively that they had had no instructions formally to exclude him.⁵ In his subsequent letters also the Austrian Cardinal Protector returned again and again to the question of Braschi and even apologized for his former attitude in so far as it might have created any trouble in Vienna.⁶

¹ Solis to Moñino, February 3, 1775 (*loc. cit.*, 425 *seqq.*); *Albani to the Imperial chancery, February 4, 1775 (*loc. cit.*).

² Zelada to Moñino, February 3, 1775 (*loc. cit.*, 429 *seqq.*).

³ The Dean Gianfrancesco Albani and the two Rezzonicos were also very active on his behalf. Cf. Aguirre and Solis to Moñino on January 18 and Aguirre to Moñino on January 30, 1775 (*ibid.* 351 *seq.*, 353 *seq.*, 407 *seq.*).

⁴ *Albani to Colloredo on January 21, 1775 (*loc. cit.*); cf. **id.* on January 28, 1775 (*ibid.*).

⁵ Moñino transmitted this information to Solis on January 29, 1775 (*loc. cit.*, 405 *seq.*).

⁶ *Albani to the Imperial chancery on February 4, 1775 (Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican).

While the Spanish ambassador held firm to Pallavicini,¹ Bartolommeo Corsini revived the memory of Visconti, who in the event of the Spanish candidate's success was to be requited with the Secretaryship of State.² In spite of the unity which the Crown Cardinals strove to maintain among themselves there seemed to be no way out of the deadlock, and finally Pallavicini himself offered to stand down.³ Migazzi was thinking it possible to awaken greater interest in Visconti's cause⁴ when it appeared that for some time past Braschi's candidature had won an influential adherent in the Crown Cardinals' camp, Solis to wit. As far back as February 1st Solis had imparted to the Spanish ambassador his conviction that in view of the difficulties that obstructed Pallavicini's election the only hope was that of Braschi.⁵ Moñino was not inclined to give way so easily and he had almost succeeded in changing the Cardinal's mind for the second time⁶ when

¹ Corsini's " *Dispaccio " of February 4, 1775 (*ibid.*).

² Corsini's " *Dispaccio " of February 8, 1775 (*ibid.*). In a letter to Alessandro Albani of January 23 Prince Kaunitz had been very insistent on this course. Colloredo in his *letter of February 20 still pressed for Visconti, so that in the event of his election Pallavicini could become Secretary of State ; similarly *Kaunitz to Albani again on February 20, 1775 (*ibid.*).

³ Corsini's " *Dispaccio " of February 11, 1775 (*ibid.*).

⁴ *Albani to the Imperial chancery on the 11th and his second *report of February 15, 1775 (*ibid.*). Corsini's " *Dispaccio " of February 11, 1775 (*ibid.*). Visconti himself offered to retire when he saw that his chances were hopeless (*v.* Corsini's " *Dispaccio " of February 20, 1775, *ibid.*).

⁵ " Después el unico recurso es el de Braschi." (Solis to Moñino, February 1, 1775 ; PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, 414 *seqq.*). Cf. Solis to Moñino on the 2nd and 5th, also his letter to Grimaldi on February 2, 1775 (*ibid.* 417 *seqq.*, 419 *seqq.*, 443).

⁶ Moñino expressed his misgivings to Solis on February 7 and even on the 9th he was still recommending Pallavicini (*ibid.* 452 *seqq.*, 462). Cf. Moñino to Grimaldi on February 9, 1775 (*ibid.* 465 *seqq.*). Solis had another talk with Bernis and Zelada about Pallavicini (Solis to Moñino on February 8, 1775 ; *ibid.* 459 *seq.*), and on the next day there was another talk with Migazzi (the

the *Zelanti* protested against the former Secretary of State¹ and he himself renounced his candidature.² Moreover, it became known that already twenty-five votes had been secured for Braschi.³ Solis and Bernis now joined in his support⁴ and Migazzi realized that the Viennese desires were unattainable. The Crown Cardinals conferred together as to the execution of their plan, their chief problems being the removal of the objections that would be made outside the conclave, particularly by Corsini and Almada, and the procurement of assurances from Braschi in favour of their Courts. For these reasons the final election was delayed a few days more.

Braschi's friend Giraud, as active as ever, was only too pleased to pass on a declaration from Braschi that he would only govern in harmony with the Courts and that he would never think of restoring the Society of Jesus.⁵ To persuade the two envoys was more difficult. Everything was done to remove this last obstruction with a combined effort. First Migazzi wrote a friendly but firmly worded letter to Corsini on February 13th.⁶ It was the duty of the Crown Cardinals,

Spanish conclavist Pontero to Moñino on February 9, 1775, *ibid.* 462).

¹ Solis' second report to Moñino, February 9, 1775 (*ibid.* 463 seq.).

² On February 10; cf. *ibid.* clxvi.

³ *Albani to Colloredo on February 25, 1775 (Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican).

⁴ Solis to Moñino on February 7, Moñino and Solis to Grimaldi on February 9, 1775 (*loc. cit.* 455 seqq., 465 seqq., 467 seqq.); *Albani to Colloredo on February 25, 1775 (*loc. cit.*).

⁵ Solis to Moñino on February 10, 1775, in PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, 475 seq.; on February 12 Solis also reported to Moñino that he had had a satisfactory talk with Braschi (*ibid.* 485 seqq.).

⁶ Migazzi to Prince Corsini on February 13, 1775 (*ibid.* 489 seqq.); cf. Corsini's " *Dispaccio " on February 15, 1775 (Archives of the Austrian Embassy to the Vatican). Migazzi had already written to Kaunitz in Braschi's support on February 11 (WOLFGRUBER, 246).

he said, to bring about the election of a Pope who would be acceptable to the Catholic Courts, and Braschi fulfilled this condition. Moñino, who had also changed his attitude after Pallavicini's withdrawal,¹ had a talk with the prince² and afterwards a still more important one with Almada,³ who was also written to by Cardinal Conti.⁴ Finally, both envoys sent their Cardinals statements of agreement,⁵ justifying themselves by referring to the express orders of their Governments to act in concert with the other Courts. Bartolommeo Corsini afterwards defended his change of mind in a long letter to the Austrian Cabinet,⁶ the gist of it being that only an official veto could have stopped the election.⁷ By the time a fresh instruction, dated February 13th, arrived from Vienna, by which, so far as the Empire was concerned, Braschi's election was to be prevented by every means except the veto, the decisive vote had already been taken, and neither Austria's nor Spain's favourite had won.

On the evening of February 14th, 1775, after the last difficulties had been cleared away, the Cardinals assembled in

¹ Pontero to Moñino on February 10, 1775 (*loc. cit.* 474 *seq.*). On the same day Moñino wrote to Solis that he well understood the difficulties that stood in Pallavicini's way (*ibid.* 473 *seq.*).

² Corsini's " *Dispaccio " of February 15, 1775 (*loc. cit.*). Moñino reported the result to Solis on February 14, 1775 (*loc. cit.* 498 *seq.*).

³ Moñino's two reports to Solis on February 13, 1775 (*ibid.* 494, 496 *seq.*); Corsini's " *Dispaccio " of February 15, 1775 (*loc. cit.*); Almada to Pombal on February 15, 1775, in HARDER, 105 *seqq.*

⁴ HARDER, 107 *seq.*

⁵ For Corsini: Solis' second report to Moñino on February 13, 1775 (*loc. cit.* 492 *seq.*); for Migazzi's assent: Solis in his first report to Moñino of February 14, 1775 (*ibid.* 498); for Almada: v. HARDER, 106 *seq.*, 109 *seq.*

⁶ Corsini's " *Dispaccio " of March 4, 1775 (*loc. cit.*).

⁷ Thus also *Albani to the Imperial chancery on March 1, 1775 (*ibid.*).

Braschi's cell to pay him the first homage by kissing his hand.¹ The morning scrutiny of the next day, the 265th of this conclave, resulted in Braschi's unanimous election, Braschi himself giving his vote, in accordance with custom, to the Dean.² In response to the question whether he accepted his election he delivered an address in Latin, ending in a prayer to the Princes of the Apostles, and then uttered his "*accepto*". Alessandro Albani announced from the loggias the election that had taken place and the name taken by the new Supreme Pontiff: Pius VI. The joy of the people was immense and was expressed in a general merry-making, with the pealing of bells, salutes of guns, and the illumination of buildings.³

In the course of the next few days the ambassadors were received in audience. Moñino was the first to offer his congratulations, followed by Bernis on February 17th and by Prince Corsini on the 19th.⁴ It was on this occasion that the Pope declined to accede to Corsini's request that Visconti be appointed Datarius, on the ground that he possessed but a scanty knowledge of canon law.⁵

On February 22nd Pius VI. was solemnly crowned.⁶ On the

¹ Corsini's "**Dispaccio*" of 15 February, 1775 (*ibid.*).

² *Ibid.*; also Aguirre to Moñino, and Solis and Moñino to Grimaldi on February 15, 1775, in PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, 501 *seqq.*, 504 *seqq.*, 506 *seq.* The "**Acta scrutiniorum conclavis habiti 1774 et 1775, copia autografa del card. Borghese*", Cod. Borghese 222 (2 vols.), Vatican Library, record all the results of the scrutinies from October 31, 1774, to February 15, 1775. WAHRMUND (145) made no use of them.

³ GENDRY, I., 79-83. Cf. an eye-witness's account in **Origine e memorie della famiglia Prosperi in Roma, scritta da Gioacchino Prosperi nel 1820*, fo. 159 *seqq.*, Archives of the Prosperi Family, Rome.

⁴ Corsini's "**Dispaccio*" of February 18, 1775 (*loc. cit.*).

⁵ Corsini's "**Dispaccio*" of February 22, 1775 (*ibid.*).

⁶ *Ibid.* "**Diario di Pio VI.*" on February 22, 1775. (Campello Archives at Spoleto.) *Relazione di tutte le ceremonie fatte per la consecrazione in vescovo e solemne coronazione della Sità di N. S. Papa Pio VI. il dì Febr. 22, 1775*, Roma, 1775. For the "*Possesso*" v. CANCELLIERI, 417 *seqq.*

following Sunday he opened the Holy Door¹ to mark the beginning of the jubilee-year in honour of his pontificate.

(2)

Gianangelo Braschi, the eldest of the eight children of Count Marcantonio Braschi and Anna Teresa Bandi, was born on December 25th, 1717, in the little town of Cesena in the Romagna.² The Braschi family, which had probably come to Italy from Sweden,³ had long been ennobled but was far from wealthy. Gianangelo, who was destined for the bar, underwent his first stage of education at the hands of the Jesuits. Intelligent and studious, he became a *Doctor juris utriusque* when he was barely seventeen. To pursue his legal studies at a university he went to Ferrara, where his uncle Giovan Carlo Bandi was Auditor to the Cardinal legate Ruffo. The Cardinal took a great interest in the gifted young man and appointed him his secretary,⁴ in which capacity he attended the long conclave of 1740 which resulted in the election of Benedict XIV. Shortly afterwards Ruffo became Dean of the Sacred College and Bishop of Ostia and Velletri. He appointed Braschi to represent him as Auditor in these dioceses, and this task was very well performed. The confusion of war made conditions extremely difficult in the States of the Church at this time but Braschi showed himself capable of meeting any

¹ *Ragguaglio della solenne funzione e cerimonie usate dal regnante Sommo Pontefice Papa Pio VI. nell'apertura della Porta Santa di S. Pietro in Vaticano*, etc., Roma, 1775.

² The date December 27 which hitherto has been given as the birthday is that of the baptism; *v.* the baptismal certificate in GENDRY, I, 2, n. 1.

³ GENDRY, *Recherches historiques et généalogiques sur la famille Braschi*, in *Compte rendu du Congrès scientif. internat. des catholiques à Bruxelles 1894*, Bruxelles, 1895, 448 *seqq.*, which supplies information about the arms of the Braschi of Sweden and Cesena and those of Pius VI. as Pope. Cf. PASINI FRASSONI, *Armorial*, 49. The information given by MASSON (*Bernis*, 320) is incorrect.

⁴ BECCATINI, I, 4 *seqq.*, 9 *seqq.*

contingency. When the Austrians occupied Velletri in August, 1744, he rescued the military records of King Charles of Naples which were preserved in the archiepiscopal palace, and for this service the king assured him that he would never forget him. Braschi's services as an intermediary were then used successfully by Pope Benedict during his disputes with the Neapolitan Court ¹ and on Ruffo's death in 1753 he made him his secretary and offered him a canonry in St. Peter's. Braschi hesitated to accept it as he was thinking of marrying, but he now abandoned this intention and with the agreement of his fiancée, who took the veil, he decided to enter the Church.² He had thus arrived at a mature age before he was ordained. Besides fulfilling his official duties he devoted himself to the study of literature, a choice library being the chief adornment of his apartments in the Rione Campo Marzo.³ In September, 1758, Benedict XIV. appointed him Referendary of the Segnatura. A year later he became the Camerlengo's Uditore Civile.⁴ Under Clement XIII. he rose to still higher positions; the Pope's nephew, Cardinal Rezzonico, selected him as his Auditor in 1759 and in the autumn of 1766 he obtained for him the important position of treasurer. These offices, like his previous ones, Braschi fulfilled with industry and probity.⁵ However conscientiously he tried he could not set the finances in order, as they were in complete confusion, and there were clashes with other personalities, notably

¹ Cf. our account, vol. XXXV., 57.

² Thus BECCATINI, I., 19. According to another account, cited by WOLF (I, 297), Braschi's marriage failed to come about owing to his poverty. A third version has it that the fiancée died; thus Fr. Fortunato in the *Cod. Vat. 10730, Vatican Library. The grounds on which GENDRY (I., 3) rejects the account of Braschi's marital intention are not convincing. The conferment of the canonry of St. Peter's took place on January 17, 1775; v. the entry in the archives of St. Peter's reproduced by GENDRY (I., 12, n. 1).

³ Report of the envoy from Lucca in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th series, XX., 404.

⁴ CANCELLIERI, *Possessi*, 417, n. 1.

⁵ [BOURGOING-AZARA,] *Mémoires*, I., 120.

Cardinal Albani and Prince Corsini.¹ The office of treasurer usually led to the cardinalate. That Braschi was paid this honour on April 26th, 1773, was due more to the recommendation of the Bourbon Courts, which had not forgotten the service he had rendered in 1744, than to the good graces of Clement XIV., for Braschi inclined more towards the firmness of Clement XIII., whom he held in the greatest respect.² Clement XIV.'s policy of appeasement, especially in the Jesuit question, met with his complete disapproval and he forfeited still more of the Pope's esteem by resisting the high-handed conduct of his favourites.³ Thus it was that in spite of his insufficient means he received at first only the abbacy of Subiaco with its meagre revenues. He repaired thither in the middle of September, 1773, to make an immediate beginning, with apostolic zeal, with the visitation of the various churches and convents. This necessitated his visiting the most remote parishes in the mountains and he did not return to Subiaco till Christmas, when the snow made it too difficult to travel in the mountains. At Subiaco he was ceaselessly at work, devoting himself especially to the obtaining of better justice for the poor.⁴ When the abbey of S. Gregorio in Rome was also committed to his charge he administered this too in an exemplary fashion.

Whenever he was in Rome he never failed to call on Cardinals Rezzonico and Torrigiani. He had the deepest sympathy with the Society of Jesus and its General Ricci in their hard lot, and for this reason he incurred the suspicion of the ambassadors of the Catholic Courts. Before the opening of the conclave an Austrian diplomat gave it as his opinion that Braschi's zeal for the Holy See was inordinately great and he also found fault with his severe and uneven temperament, and his easily inflammable imagination, while acknowledging that his morals were irreproachable. Many other

¹ Cf. the enclosure, written in French, to Migazzi's *report to Colloredo, of January 28, 1775, which describes Pius VI.'s previous life very favourably (State Archives, Vienna).

² See the report cited in the previous note.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ JANNUCELLI, *Memorie di Subiaco*, 304; GENDRY, I., 42 *seqq.*

contemporaries bore witness to the perfect conduct and the sincere piety of Pius VI.¹

His outward appearance matched his noble spirit.² Tall in

¹ The most weighty evidence is perhaps that of BOURGOING-AZARA (*Mémoires hist.*, I., 119), where Pius VI.'s weaknesses are pitilessly exposed and often exaggerated: "Ses ennemis mêmes, à moins d'être tout-à-fait injustes, conviennent que, quant à la pureté des mœurs, il a toujours été irréprochable." To Gorani's charges the following reply is made: "Nous devons à la vérité assurer que ceux qui l'ont connu depuis très longtemps et de très près, n'ont rien remarqué qui pût élever le plus léger doute sur la pureté de ses mœurs, du moins depuis l'époque à laquelle il fut porté à la place de trésorier jusqu'à la fin de son pontificat." Cf. also the letter from Cardinals Luynes and Bernis, in MASSON, *Bernis*, 314.

² Cf. above all the busts in the magnificent engravings by Marco Carlone (1782) and Alessandro Mochetti (1790 *seq.*), which adorn Visconti's "Museo Pio-Clementino". For Carlone, *v.* THIEME, VI., 8. Also very successful are the engravings by Fr. Piranesi (BILDT, *Svenska Minnen och Marken i Roma*, Stockholm, 1900, 232; cf. GIESEKE, *Piranesi*, 121) and I. Elias Haid, reproduced in CHLEDOWSKI, 360. A full-length figure of the Pope holding a scroll in his hand was engraved by Camillo Tinti from a drawing by I. D. Porta (reproduced in VOGEL, 82). Other portraits, including medals, are listed, with the places where they were copied, in the *Portrait Index* ed. by W. COOLIDGE LANE and N. S. BROWNE, Washington, 1906, 1162. For the engraving by the Englishman Marchant, see NOVAES, XVI., 2, 196. Cf. TAVANTI, I., 95. The scenes from the life of Pius VI. engraved by the painter G. Beys from his own sketches (*v.* THIEME, III., 572) are only of factual interest. The best known of the portraits in oils is that by Batoni (*v.* THIEME, III, 35). In response to the request of the Sorbonne Pius VI. sent it his portrait with a *Brief of August 13, 1777 (Papal Secret Archives, *Epist.* 176). There are busts of Pius VI. in the Etruscan Museum, where Cardinal Zelada had his lodgings, and in the entrance to the sacristy of SS. Giovanni e Paolo. A medallion in relief on the steps of Via Sistina 47-48 bears the inscription: "Pio VI. Pontifici Maximo cuius liberalitate ingenia artes in spem veteris gloriae floruerunt Franciscus Piranesius architect. cum concordissimis Patribus

figure, fresh-complexioned, his face lit up with benignity and mildness, he appeared, in spite of his white hair, which contrasted with his dark eyes, younger than he really was. His dignified bearing—he seemed to be a born ruler, said a contemporary¹—combined with his amiability and an exceptional fluency of speech, left an impression which was as pleasant as it was deep. Even men who were as remote from the spirit of the Catholic Church as Goethe fell under the spell of such a personality.² The Anglican John Moore

Domino indulgentissimo quod musei domestici nomen et novorum operum fama aditu eius et laude nobilitata sint mense oct. A° 1782.” Outside Rome there are marble busts of the Pope in the sacristy of the cathedral at Subiaco (GENDRY, I., 501), at Terracina (Musco), Fermo (Biblioteca), and Treja (by Ant. Calamanti, 1785), in the crypt of the cathedral at Ancona, with an inscription commemorating the visit on “VII. Id. Iunii 1782”, and in the town hall of Viterbo. A statue at Ancona was destroyed in 1798 (*v. Ricci, Mem. delle arti e degli artisti della Marca d'Ancona*, II, Macerata, 1834, 409). The bronze statue at Cesena made by Franc. Maria Calligari of that town is still preserved (*cf. Arch. Comunale Congreg. per la statua di Pio VI. 1780-1795*). An over-lifesize statue on the left of the entrance to the abbey-church at Casamari is inscribed: “D. O. M. Pio VI. Pont. Max. benefactori eximio monachi Casaemarienses hanc statuam in grati animi obsequium dicarunt an. MDCCLXXVI.” A colossal statue stands at the entrance to the sacristy of St. Peter's; it is by Agostino Penna and is excellently reproduced in *Cosmos cath.*, I. (1899), No. 3. The most impressive representation of Pius VI. is that made by Canova, on Cardinal Braschi's instructions, for the Confessio of St. Peter's; it was modelled in 1818 and executed in marble in 1822 (*v. AGNOLETTI, Canova e l'arte sacra*, Roma, 1922, 10 *seq.*, 34 *seq.*). Plate 4 in this book shows Pius VI.'s head copied from the model in the Gipsoteca at Possagno. Trippel's statuette of Pius VI. blessing is known only from a description (*v. VOGEL*, 117). Professor Steinmann in Rome has a delightful statue in porcelain, possibly by Volpato.

¹ Francesco Fortunati in his “*Note” in the Cod. Vat. 10730 (Vatican Library).

² Goethe saw the Pope soon after his arrival, on All Souls' Day, 1786. Pius VI. was saying Mass in the Cappella Paolina of

admitted that in spite of all the prejudices with which he had been imbued he was tempted to pay this Pope a greater tribute of respect than seemed to be consonant with his religious convictions.¹ When Lessing was presented to the Pope in the autumn of 1775, in the company of Prince Leopold of Brunswick, he was so moved by his dignified and venerable appearance that he was on the point of kissing his foot, although the two Protestants had been excused this customary act of homage ; His Holiness prevented him from so doing by retreating with a smile.² " I know of no sovereign," said Prince Heinrich of Reuss, " with more noble a bearing than Pius VI. He has a commanding figure and in all his gestures there is something majestic and noble that harmonizes beautifully with his gentle character. His manners captivate everyone." ³

The Romans thought it of evil omen that the new Pope called himself Pius the Sixth, as Tarquin, the sixth king, and Nero, the sixth emperor, had brought nothing but misery to Rome. But on February 22nd, when the new Pope appeared for the first time in the radiant splendour of his office, for his coronation and his consecration as Bishop,⁴ the people were carried away by his beauty. The Pope himself was far from being indifferent to his personal appearance and in order to heighten its effect he paid particular attention to the snow-white hair that framed his countenance. Some went so far as

the Quirinal, which at that time was open to the public. Goethe spoke of him as being " the most handsome, dignified, figure of a man ". (SCHUCHARDT, *Goethes ital. Reise*, I., Stuttgart, 1862, 169.)

¹ [BOURGOING-AZARA,] *Mémoires*, I., 105.

² DANZEL-GUHRAUER, *Lessing*, II.², 540 seq.

³ *Lebens- und Regierungsgesch. Pius' VI.*, Cesena, 1782, 328 seq. An *Italian translation of this book in the Cod. Vat. 9718, *loc. cit.* Cf. also DOHM, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, II., 312.

⁴ " *Relazione di tutte le ceremonie fatte per la consecrazione in vescovo e solenne coronazione della S^{ta} di N. S. Pio VI.," Roma, 1775. Cardinal York's allocution in GENDRY, I., 486 seq. For the " Possesso ", which did not take place till November 30, 1775. v. CANCELLIERI, 422 seqq.

to say that he elegantly raised his long robe to one side so as to show his shapely foot. This betokened a serious flaw in his character, which fitted in with his desire for fame. These weaknesses were severely criticized, exaggerated, and wrongly interpreted by the satiric Romans and still more so by such free-thinkers as Azara.¹

Whatever the interest Pius VI. took in the dignity and splendour of his appearance ² and however much he wanted to make his pontificate famous and his name to be coupled with great deeds, he was also moved by the desire to restore the Holy See, threatened as it was, to its former reputation. The gravity with which he regarded his exalted position was manifested in the address he delivered with great solemnity to the Cardinals after his election. Quite unexpectedly, he said, and in spite of his unworthiness, he had been raised from the lowest place to the highest. He was filled with sadness, for in so difficult times, when the enemies of religion were striving to delude the peoples with false doctrines, who would occupy the chair of Peter without a sigh? But recalling the words of Gregory the Great, that to fly from the dispensation of God was merely pride, he intended, in spite of his weakness, to obey, like Moses. He hoped that God, who had taken David from the herds and Peter from the fishermen, would send him the Holy Ghost to direct the Church aright, and he asked the Cardinals to support him with their counsel. He intended to act in the manner demanded of a Bishop by St. Bernard: with neither haste nor violence, with neither over-severity nor negligence. "Do thou, Prince of the Apostles," he concluded, "armed with such miraculous power, heal the infirmities of thine heir, as thou didst heal the sick, and protect me in my labours and my cares."³

The Pope spoke in a similar vein at his first Consistory on March 13th, 1775: the greatness of his burden made him realize his weakness; but trusting to God's protection he

¹ [BOURGOING-AZARA,] I., 102 *seqq.*

² Brunati's *report of October 16, 1784 (State Archives, Vienna).

³ **Epist.* 175, p. 488^b, Papal Secret Archives.

submitted to His decree, for he knew that God chose the weak. The Cardinals were to help him with their prayers and their counsel.¹

It was in accordance with these noble sentiments that he held in particular veneration the sainted Pope Pius V., whose name he had assumed.²

Even Pius VI.'s enemies acknowledged the seriousness with which he devoted his whole life to the duties of his office.³ With exceptional activity he was engaged from early morning onwards in the settlement of spiritual and secular affairs, the granting of audiences, and the attendance at religious ceremonies.⁴ Unlike most of his predecessors he disdained to retire to the attractive Castel Gandolfo in spring and autumn. In the first three years of his pontificate the only rest he took was in October, when the Cardinals, like everyone else, went into the country; he then ceased to hold any audiences and devoted himself to pious practices, especially visits to the sanctuaries and gardens in the Roman environs; and he usually went on foot.⁵ Later he occasionally went fowling in the autumn.⁶ He spent the summer in the Quirinal, the

¹ *Ibid.* p. 14.

² As Pius VI. had the veneration of Pius V. very much at heart, Cardinal Chigi gave him the holy Pope's stole; *v.* '*Diario di Pio VI.' on March 29, 1775; *cf.* for May, 1776, the Campello Archives at Spoleto. *Cf.* GENDRY, I., 100. On April 29, 1775, Pius VI. *thanked the Marchese Francesco Pio Ghislieri of Bologna for a fine picture of Pius V., saying that he put especial trust in the protection of this Pope. *Cf.* also the *Brief to the Spanish Infante Fernando of August 4, 1775, *Epist.* 175, *loc. cit.*

³ [BOURGOING-AZARA,] I., 121 *seqq.*

⁴ GENDRY, I., 121.

⁵ *Report by the Conde de Floridablanca to Grimaldi, October 12, 1775 (Archives of Simancas); '*Diario di Pio VI.' on October 12, 1776, October 8 and 15, 1777 (*loc. cit.*).

⁶ Thus Cardinal Herzan *reported to Colloredo on November 1, 1783, that the Pope had gone with his nephews to Cechignolo, where larks were caught with nets "ad imitazione di Papa Leone X." Similarly *Brunati to Colloredo on October 13, 1784 (State Archives, Vienna).

winter in the Vatican ; he ate little and was constantly on the move. In the morning he usually visited some fine villa, in the evening he took part in the Forty Hours' Prayer. His health was very good.¹ Relying on his vigorous and robust physique² he sometimes worked too hard but he was careful always to take some physical exercise. In the October of 1778 he had taken his usual walks in the Villa Borghese on the Pincio, in the Villa Giulia, and in the Villa Pamfili³ but on November 4th he fell sick and it was feared that he would have an apoplectic stroke. A careful mode of living, however, soon removed the danger. Although he kept indoors some time he did not have to suspend his audiences and was able to manage the affairs of State. At the beginning of December he had to stay away from the first service in Advent but on the 8th he appeared in the Sistina for the feast of the Immaculate Conception and on the 14th he held another Consistory.⁴

Far more serious and prolonged was the illness that afflicted the Pope in the middle of March, 1779. A rheumatism of the joints caused him severe pain and defied every sort of treatment—in one night alone he was bled four times.⁵ Although the physicians Saliceti⁶ and De Rossi did not

¹ Floridablanca's *reports of April 15, May 11, 18, 25, June 1, 8, 22, July 6, 13, 20, August 10 and 31, September 14 and 21, October 12, 19, 26, November 2 and 16, December 7, 1775, January 4, April 4, May 23, October 7, 24, 31, 1776 ("El viernes de la semana anterior pasó a pie por el Corso y esta plaza de Espana"), Archives of Simancas. ' *Diario di Pio VI.' on November 18, 1778 (Campello Archives, Spoleto).

² Brunati *wrote to Colloredo on February 15, 1775, that Pius VI. was "d'un temperamento atletico, di 57 anni d'età promette un lungo pontificato". (State Archives, Vienna.)

³ ' *Diario di Pio VI.' on October 24, 1778 (*loc. cit.*).

⁴ Grimaldi's *reports of November 5, 12, 16, 26, December 3, 10, 17, 31, 1778 (Archives of Simancas).

⁵ Grimaldi's *reports of March 18 and 25, 1779 (*ibid.*). Cf. ' *Diario di Pio VI.' on March 17, 24, 31, 1779 (*loc. cit.*). Cf. also *Correspond des Directeurs*, XIII., 414 ; MASSON, *Bernis*, 351.

⁶ For Natale Saliceti (d. 1789, buried in S. Luigi de' Francesi) v. PASQUALONI, *Delle lodi di sommo N.S.*, Roma, 1789 ;

consider him to be in danger the representatives of the Catholic Great Powers entered into deliberations on the subject of another conclave.¹ The illness became protracted. The physicians succeeded with their treatment in so far as the Pope was able to move his arms again and sit up in bed without assistance but there now set in a disturbing weakness of the stomach and total sleeplessness. The patient, his strength already tried by frequent bleedings, became still weaker.² The fine upstanding man with his fresh complexion was now hardly recognizable, so pale and haggard had he become. At last at the end of April there was a marked improvement in his condition. He was unable to sign his name as he still could not move his fingers but he dealt with the most urgent matters, first with his secretaries and soon afterwards with the Cardinals as well.³ Although he was no longer in danger of his life it was thought that his reign would not be a long one.⁴ This surmise was confirmed when at the beginning of the warm season his health, instead of improving, as had been hoped, deteriorated. He now had attacks of faintness and intestinal trouble. Moreover, the rheumatism

LOMBARDI, III., 259 *seqq.*; ZAPPOLI, *Illustr. ai busti di medici celebri*, Roma, 1868, 123; *Rivista d'Italia*, 1899, I., 324 *seq.*

¹ Grimaldi's *report of March 25, 1779, containing the advice that the Spanish Cardinals should prepare themselves for the journey. The twelve Cardinals who could be relied on might not be in agreement among themselves. "Por estos motivos hemos (he himself, Bernis, the Portuguese and Neapolitan ambassadors, and Azara) creido que en las circunstancias presentes, en que más que nunca reina il fanatismo (!) seria no solo util y conveniente, sino tambien necesario engrosar nuestro partido con los sufragios de los cardenales que tenemos." The Portuguese ambassador, he said, had already written to his Government in this sense; Bernis and Negroni and the Neapolitan ambassador would do likewise. Archives of Simancas. Cf. GENDRY, I., 133; MASSON, 352.

² Grimaldi's *reports on April 1, 15, 22, 1779 (*loc. cit.*).

³ **Id.*, April 29, 1779 (*ibid.*).

⁴ **Id.*, May 6, 1779 (*ibid.*).

was still there and the patient could leave his bed for only a few hours.¹ On Whit Sunday, May 23rd, he insisted on attending Mass in his private chapel and from that day his condition noticeably improved, though the physicians were still perturbed. The June Consistory was postponed but all business was attended to.² On June 29th the Pope accepted in person in St. Peter's the feudal tribute from Naples. It was noticed how pale he looked and how difficult he found it to move his fingers in imparting his blessing. On the following day he drove amid the cheers of the populace to take up his summer residence in the Quirinal. By the middle of July he was again receiving the ambassadors of the Great Powers and thanking them for the sympathy expressed by their sovereigns. He warned them, however, that he would still have to take care of himself for some time.³ At the Consistory of July 12th his hoarseness was noted. It was still difficult for him to walk and he was still suffering from sleeplessness and indigestion. The mineral baths of the Acqua Santa had a beneficial effect at first but then had to be stopped. In August he was able to celebrate Mass again,⁴ and he resumed his walks and his visits to the villas and gardens.⁵ By October he was quite well again. On the 9th, when he visited the Lateran, he returned to the Quirinal on foot. As the result of this regular exercise and his great abstemiousness his health was re-established and a long reign was expected after all.

The course of business was affected by this lingering illness of 1779 all the more by the fact that Pius VI. had determined from the very start to keep the control of affairs in his own

¹ **Id.*, May 13 and 20, 1779 (*ibid.*).

² **Id.*, May 17, June 3, 10, 17, 24, 1779 (*ibid.*); ' *Diario di Pio VI.' on May 26, 1779 (Campello Archives at Spoleto). Cf. *Correspond. des Directeurs*, XIII., 446.

³ Grimaldi's *reports of June 1 and 22, 1779 (*loc. cit.*); *Correspond. des Directeurs*, XIII., 448, 452.

⁴ Cf. *Correspond.*, *ibid.* 453, 454, and the information, probably taken from the "Avvisi", in the *Lebensgeschichte Pius VI.*, II., Cesena, 1782, 198 *seqq.*

⁵ ' *Diario di Pio VI.' on October 9 and 13, 1779 (*loc. cit.*).

hands. Consequently his Secretaries of State could only play a very modest rôle. This was a disappointment for the Great Powers,¹ which had exercised their influence very strongly at the first distribution of the highest offices. Thus, despite his modest talents Cardinal Pallavicini was retained as Secretary of State chiefly out of regard for the very influential Cardinal Bernis.² For the same reason Cardinal Negroni was given the remunerative post of Pro-datary.³ Carlo Luti, a man of worth, became Sub-datary, and great hopes were attached to this appointment.⁴ The Secretaryship of the Briefs, which had been held by Negroni, was transferred to Cardinal Conti, to the satisfaction of the French and Spanish representatives.⁵ The Maggiordomo, Giovanni Archinto, retained his office.⁶

When Cardinal Pallavicini died on February 23rd, 1785, Brunati wrote to Vienna that the Pope had held him of little account owing to his meagre ability and his feeble memory.

¹ [BOURGOING-AZARA,] II., 145 *seqq.*

² Albani's *report to Joseph II. of February 15, 1775 (State Archives, Vienna).

³ Corsini's *report to Colloredo, February 25, 1775 (*ibid.*). On Negroni's death in 1789 Filippo Campanelli became Pro-datary. He was succeeded on his death, February 18, 1795, by Cardinal Aurelio Roverella. MORONI, XIX., 140.

⁴ Corsini's *report to Colloredo of February 18, 1775 (State Archives, Vienna).

⁵ MORONI, VI., 122 ; [BOURGOING-AZARA], I., 36 *seq.* Benedetto Stay remained as Segretario de' Brevi a' principi (MORONI, LXIII., 273 ; *cf.* RENAZZI, IV., 270), Buonamici as Segretario delle lettere latini. The **Pii VI. Epist.* 175 (a° I.) to 193 (a° XXII./XXIII.) were edited by Stay, the **Epist.* 194 *seqq.* (a° XXIV./XXV.) by the Secretarius Iosephus Marotti. Papal Secret Archives.

⁶ Archinto having been raised to the purple on April 5, 1776, his place was taken in May, 1776, by Giov. Ant. Mancinforte Sperelli, who was succeeded in September, 1780, by Romoaldo Onesti-Braschi. When the last-named became a Cardinal, Filippo Lancelotti was made Maggiordomo. In 1794 he too became a Cardinal and was succeeded by Giuseppe Simone F. Vinci who died in September, 1795. His place was taken by Marino Carafa de' Principi di Belvedere (*v.* MORONI, XLI., 272 *seqq.*).

Pius VI., he said, was in any case very independent, regarding his Ministers as mere reporters instead of counsellors.¹ No new appointment to the Secretaryship of State was made until June. Pius deliberated long on the question, especially with Bernis, as he wanted to pay every possible consideration to the desires of France and Spain. The most various candidates were mentioned, including Garampi, against whom it was objected that his health was weak and that as a friend of the Jesuits he would not be acceptable to Spain. Finally, the Pope wavered between Doria, who had been the nuncio in Paris, Archetti, who had done well as the nuncio to Poland, and Ignazio Boncompagni, the legate in Bologna, a man of varied accomplishments. The post was finally entrusted to the last-named, who was on good terms with Bernis and the Spanish *chargé d'affaires*, Azara, and was most acceptable to Emperor Joseph II.² His talents and knowledge were adequate but not his political experience.³ Unfortunately, he gave himself no time to acquire this last, as he plunged into a round of pleasure and turned night into day.⁴ Still worse, he led a life of immorality.⁵ Naturally, the Pope lost all the confidence

¹ " *Pio VI. che presume tutto di sè non soffre ne vuò dottori intorno. Riguarda i suoi ministri come referendari, ma non per consiglieri." (Brunati to Colloredo, February 26, 1785; State Archives, Vienna).

² In his *report to Colloredo on June 29, 1785, Herzan says straight out that Boncompagni was appointed on Joseph II.'s recommendation (*ibid.*). Cf. (BOURGOING-AZARA,) II., 146 *seqq.*; BECCATINI, II., 180. Of Garampi's candidature Brunati *wrote on April 6, 1785, that he was regarded as "intendente de' libri principalmente diplomatici" . . . "uno di quei letterati che sapiunt per indices". (State Archives, Vienna.)

³ " *È dotato di molto talento e non manca di cognizioni in teorica, ma non ha veruna pratica delle corti." (Brunati to Colloredo, June 29, 1785; *ibid.*).

⁴ *Brunati on November 5, 1785 (*ibid.*).

⁵ Testified to by BOURGOING-AZARA (II., 163), who defend Boncompagni against other charges raised by the slanderous Gorani. Cf. also VOGEL, 83; WOLF (II., 160 *seq.*) follows Gorani

he had formerly had in him¹ and the ambitious Secretary soon realized that the Treasurer, Fabrizio Ruffo, was wielding a far greater influence than he was. This annoyed him so much that he was continually threatening to resign. In September 1789, although Bernis and Azara tried to dissuade him, he renewed his offer of resignation after a dispute with the *nepote* and the Pope accepted it, appointing in his stead the seventy-two-year-old Cardinal Zelada.²

On the death of the Secretary of the Briefs, Cardinal Conti, on November 15th, 1785, his post was administered by Cardinal Leonardo Antonelli in his capacity of Prosegretario until 1787, when Pius VI. entrusted it to his nephew, Romoaldo Onesti-Braschi, who had been made a Cardinal the year before.³

Giulia Francesca Braschi, the Pope's sister, who was married to Girolamo Onesti, had another son, Luigi, who was also called to Rome from Cesena in December 1779, and was given the second name of Braschi.⁴ As the elder son, he was to keep the family name in existence by marrying some well-born and wealthy lady. Pius VI., as Auditor, had had much to do with the Falconieri family, and his choice now fell on Costanza. The wedding took place in June 1781 in the Cappella Sistina, the Pope himself performing the nuptial ceremony. Along with other costly gifts he handed the young couple a casket containing 10,000 gold doubloons. In spite of the precarious state of the Papal finances this was soon followed by still more expensive gifts. For an insignificant rent Luigi Braschi was

unquestioningly. RINIERI (228 *seq.*) contests Boncompagni's immorality on very weak grounds. Cf. Brunati's *reports of August 12 and 16 and November 4, 1786 (*loc. cit.*).

¹ Brunati's *report of August 31, 1785 (*ibid.*).

² (BOURGOING-AZARA,) II., 161 *seqq.*; GENDRY, II., 114; BECCATINI, III., 12 *seq.*; TAVANTI, II., 55; RINIERI, 340, 538 *seq.*

³ MORONI, VI., 123.

⁴ Report of the Lucchese envoy in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th series, XX., 405; cf. *ibid.*, 400, for Romoaldo's arrival in May 1778. It was therefore quite wrong of CHLEDOWSKI (345) to write that Pius VI. brought the two nephews to Rome "immediately after his election".

permitted to acquire the Jesuit estates in Tivoli which were valued at 85,000 *scudi*, and he was also put in the way of buying for 94,000 *scudi* the duchy of Nemi, which had once belonged to the Frangipani.¹

Perhaps even greater scandal was given by Pius VI. allowing himself to be appointed the sole heir, for the benefit of his nephew, of the priest of the Maltese Order, Amanzio Lepri. Lepri's estate was valued at a million and a half *scudi*. This gift to the Pope was by way of reparation for the misdeeds of his father, who had dishonestly enriched himself as the farmer of the Papal dues. But a niece of Lepri's, Marianne, raised her claim to the estate. A lawsuit followed, and Pius vainly attempted to compromise. The Rota finally decided against him, to the great satisfaction of public opinion. On Amanzio's death at Christmas, 1785, a new will was found which upset all former ones. Pius, convinced of his rightful title, contested it. The case came before the Rota again and in 1789 it was settled by a compromise, the estate being divided between the Pope's nephew and Marianne Lepri.²

This painful incident did much damage not only to the nephew's reputation but also to that of the Pope, but Pius took no account of it. The old evil of nepotism came to life once more. Dini, the docile Papal Master of Ceremonies, ingratiated himself with his employer by reintroducing the ceremonial of the nepotes. Luigi and his wife lived in grand style, granting formal audiences to Cardinals and prelates.³ Foreign princes joined with the newly created Cardinals in conferring gifts and

¹ Reports of the Lucchese envoy, *loc. cit.*, 406 *seqq.*; [BOURGOING-AZARA], I., 198 *seq.*; TOMASSETTI, II., 277; GENDRY, I., 163. For the wedding, *v.* VICCHI, *Un matrimonio di cento anni fa* (no place of publication; 1881).

² For the Lepri case, *v.* the Lucchese reports, *loc. cit.*, 407 *seqq.*; Brunati's *letters to Colloredo on January 4, 8, 11, 15, 22, 25, February 12, 1783, January 23, March 23, June 4, 6, 15, December 28 and 31, 1785, January 4, 7, 11, 1786, March 10, 1787 (State Archives, Vienna); [BOURGOING-AZARA], I., 203 *seq.*; BECCATINI, II., 166 *seqq.*; TAVANTI, I., 165, 175, 206, II., 15, 58.

³ Brunati's *report of February 23, 1785 (*loc. cit.*).

decorations on the influential nephew, who was now Duke of Nemi. The Emperor made him a Prince of the Empire, the King of Spain raised him to the dignity of a grandee, the King of France sent him the Order of the Holy Ghost with brilliants, the King of Sardinia presented him with the Grand Cross of the Order of SS. Maurice and Lazarus, with revenues amounting to 2,000 *scudi*.¹ The pomp and splendour with which Luigi Braschi rode to the hunt² took one back to the times of the Renaissance. The "*nepote*", whose marriage was for long unblest with children,³ behaved in the most overbearing fashion, whereas his brother, the Cardinal, with his gentle, friendly, and benevolent attitude, was liked by everyone.⁴ Luigi, who had also come into violent conflict with the Governor of Rome, was detested by the people.⁵ The most opprobrious stories were told about the dullness of intellect, the avarice, and the bad manners of this upstart from the provinces, and he was the butt of the most venomous satires.⁶ The huge palace which Luigi Braschi built for himself in Rome is a monument of nepotism. In 1791-2 the Palazzo Santobono,

¹ GENDRY, I., 169 *seqq.*

² Brunati's *report of October 15, 1785 (*loc. cit.*).

³ The first boy, born in November, 1787, died the following month (Brunati's *report of December 5, 1787, *loc. cit.*); another son and a daughter were born later. MORONI, VI., 99.

⁴ " *La dolce indole di questo porporato accoppiata colla maggior bontà e le più obbliganti maniere gli conciliano l'animo di tutti. Non pare sicuramente fratello del sig. duca Don Luigi Braschi " (Brunati to Colloredo, November 10, 1787, *ibid.*). Cf. *Correspond. des Directeurs*, XV., 122; MORONI, VI., 100. How unfair WOLF was in his *Gesch. der kath. Kirche unter Pius VI.* (II., 566) is shown by his going clean contrary to Brunati, who was normally unsparing with his censures, and stigmatizing Cardinal Braschi as being extremely ignorant, proud, and dissolute. On this as on many occasions Wolf accepted Gorani's calumnies.

⁵ Brunati's *reports of February 8 and 15, 1787 (*loc. cit.*).

⁶ Fr. Fortunato's " *Note " in the Cod. Vat. 10730 for August 15 and December 3 and 19, 1786 (Vatican Library), where there is mention of a " lettera anonima al Duca Braschi Grande di Spagna, Piccolo di Ccsena e Duca di Nemini ".

formerly belonging to the Orsini and situated near the Pasquino, was pulled down, together with the surrounding houses, and on the site there arose the imposing Palazzo Braschi. It was designed by Cosimo Morelli and possessed the finest staircase in Rome. The cost of the building was estimated at 150,000 *scudi*.¹

Nepotism also cast its shadow on what was one of the most praiseworthy undertakings of Pius VI. As Cardinal Ruffo's Auditor at Velletri, he had gained a close acquaintance with the district around the Pontine Marshes and had taken a keen interest in the drainage plans which were again being considered. Soon after becoming Pope he consulted experts on the possibility of draining the swampy and malaria-infested area stretching between Cisterna and Terracina. At the beginning of 1777 he decided to carry out this vast undertaking, which was of extreme economic importance.² The scheme drawn up by the Bolognese engineer Gaetano Rappini was approved by two other engineers, and in the autumn the work began.³ The water coming from the hills was to be carried along a canal, to be known as the Linea Pia, which was to run parallel with the Via Appia, and was to be finally discharged into the sea at Terracina. At first the work was so successful that a considerable portion of the area was dried and ready for cultivation by October 1778.⁴ To avoid burdening the Camera Apostolica or imposing fresh taxes a joint-stock company was formed with a capital of 120,000 *scudi*. But as early as May

¹ Report of the Luccese envoy of March 20, 1790 (*loc. cit.* 437), where it is said expressly that Pius VI. contributed 42,000 *scudi*, whereas MORONI (VI., 99) states that the whole cost was borne by L. Braschi. Cf. TAVANTI, II., 138; NOVAES, XVI., 2, 202; LANCIANI, *Scavi*, I., 54. For the staircase, *ibid.*, 826, and BRINCKMANN, *Baukunst*, 135.

² N. M. NICOLAI, *De' bonificamenti delle terre Pontine*, Roma, 1800, 155 *seqq.*

³ *Ibid.*, 186 *seqq.*, 211 *seqq.*; reports of the Lucchese envoy, *loc. cit.*, 396; GENDRY, I., 114.

⁴ Report of the Lucchese envoy (*loc. cit.*, 398). [BOURGOING-AZARA], I., 137, estimates the area at 80 *rubbi*.

1779 it was found that far greater expenditure would be necessary.¹ The undertaking was consequently opposed in many quarters,² but Pius VI. would not abandon it and was encouraged in his resolve by the dry summer of 1779, which rendered the work easier.³ At the end of November, however, heavy rainfall did much damage, which hearsay exaggerated.⁴ To discover the true state of things, Pius, in spite of the risk of catching malaria, decided to visit the marshes himself. On April 6th, 1780, with only a small retinue, he began the journey to Terracina, where he took up his quarters in the Palazzo Vitelli. As no Pope since Benedict XIII. had journeyed further from his residence than Castel Gandolfo, the people came flocking from every direction to do honour to their exalted visitor. The original course of the canal had to be diverted but the result was satisfactory, as 1,475 hectares were reclaimed. Rejoicing at this success the Pope returned to Rome.⁵ He repeated his inspection in April, 1781, but was prevented from doing so in the following year by his visit to Vienna. At the end of April, 1783, however, he undertook the journey again,⁶ and returned to Rome on May 8th satisfied with the progress made: the damage done by the floods had been exaggerated.⁷ But again the costly enterprise, in which about 3,500 workmen were employed, was adversely criticized.⁸ Under no consideration, however, would Pius abandon a project which was to bring him as much honour as profit—

¹ Fr. Alberti's dispatches in BROSC, II., 150.

² [BOURGOING-AZARA], I., 137.

³ Dispatch of the Lucchese envoy of May 22, 1779 (*loc. cit.*, 402).

⁴ *Ibid.*, 402 *seq.*

⁵ GENDRY, I., 115 *seqq.*; DE CUPIS, 346. The *description of the journey in the Cod. Vat. 8887 of the Vatican Library.

⁶ Both journeys are described in the *Cod. Vat. 8888 and 8889 (*ibid.*).

⁷ *Brunati to Colloredo on May 10, 1783 (State Archives, Vienna); TAVANTI, I., 164; [BOURGOING-AZARA], I., 147.

⁸ Characteristic of this is Brunati's *report of April 6, 1783 (*loc. cit.*). For the provision of the money, v. MORONI, XL., 158 *seq.*

and profit not only for him but also for his nephew Luigi Braschi, to whom he had rented on favourable terms a considerable portion of the reclaimed estates.¹

The Pope regarded his annual expedition to the Pontine Marshes as his spring holiday. From 1784 to 1796 inclusive, except for 1791-3, he made an annual inspection of the drainage works, which were time and again obstructed by floods.² The total outlay amounted to over a million and a half *scudi*,³ but all that was gained was the reduction of the marshy area⁴; the transformation of the whole district into arable land remained a pious hope. Even now, with all the aids of modern engineering and the vast resources of the Italian State, it has not been possible to carry out the scheme completely.⁵ Pius VI.'s achievements, which his enemies tried to minimize as much as possible or entirely to deny,⁶ are judged by recent and impartial critics to have been considerable.⁷

¹ Brunati's *reports of May 3, 1783, and July 20, 1785 (*loc. cit.*); NICOLAI, 293 *seqq.*; CANTÙ, *Storia degli Italiani*, VI., Torino, 1856, 128.

² GENDRY, I., 119.

³ In exact figures, 1,621,983 *scudi*, which included the cost of the reconstruction of the Via Appia and the structures; *v.* NICOLAI, 325.

⁴ Cf. the maps in NICOLAI, which give a good idea of the conditions before and after the work done under Pius VI.

⁵ Another drainage scheme was initiated by the Italian Government in 1917.

⁶ Brunati asserted in his *report of April 28, 1787 (*loc. cit.*) that after ten years' work not so much as a handsbreadth of ground had been reclaimed. An English traveller said: "Après dix ans de travaux il n'y a pas encore autant de terrains déséchés qu'il y en avait du temps d'Auguste et l'air est devenu encore plus malsain" ([BOURGOING-AZARA], I., 148). Brunati said that the deforestation had made the exhalations still more pernicious (*report of July 4, 1787, *loc. cit.*). Cf. P. ORLANDUS, *De exsiccandarum paludum Pontinensium utilitate deque infirmitatibus, quae ab aquis stagnantibus exoriuntur. Cui altera accedit de morbis ab a. 1778 ad 1782 Romae observatis*, Romae, 1783.

⁷ DE CUPIS, 347; NICOLAI, 327.

Another enterprise, which was closely connected with the draining of the Pontine Marshes, was universally applauded, even by ill-disposed contemporaries.¹ This was the construction of a first-class highway from Velletri to Terracina. This new artery of traffic, which utilized the ancient Roman road, the Via Appia, was completed in 1786, and in the following year it was planted with two rows of elms. It provided a communication with Naples which was shorter and easier than the old route over the mountains *via* Sezze and Piperno. Pius VI. had a large granary and a customs-house erected at Terracina, and a Capuchin church and convent at Tre Ponti, the first post-stage, to meet the spiritual needs of the neighbourhood.² Another fine road owed its inception to Pius VI., that which runs boldly through wild mountain scenery, either close alongside or high above the Anio, from Subiaco to Tivoli. Numerous ordinances show the interest taken by the Pope in the roads of the Papal States.³ He improved the road to Viterbo and on his instructions drainage-works were undertaken at Città della Pieve, Perugia, Spoleto, Trevi,⁴ and Cassino.⁵ An

¹ [BOURGOING-AZARA], I., 137, 154 *seq.*

² NICOLAI, 326, 362 *seqq.*, 372 *seqq.* For the former state of the road, *cf.* JUSTI, II.², 153. The pope is commemorated by two inscriptions on the road between Velletri and Civita Lavinia: "Pius VI. P.M. | Viam Piam | antea designatam et fieri iussam | stravit absolvit perfecit | et ponte ornavit | Io. B. de Praetis praef. viar. | fiendam curavit | A° 1780." — "Ex auctoritate | Io. Franc. Albani | episc. Ostien. | ordo populusque Veliternus | ut viam Appiam Traianam | providentia Pii VI. P. M. | post immemorabil. aevi spatia restitutam | consensu opt. principis | municipio coniungeret | utque iter in urbem finitimis etiam facillimum patefaceret | viam Veliternam quae vetustate interciderat | subacto iugo pontibusque constructis | ad Appiae miliarium XXII. muniendam curavit | A° 1779."

³ *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 403 *seq.*, 745, VI., 2, 2015; TAVANTI, I., 71, 87.

⁴ NOVAES, XVI., 1, 106, for Canino.

⁵ 'Diario di Pio VI.' on May 15, 1778 (Campello Archives at Spoleto); BECCATINI, II., 119 *seqq.*

inscription near Anguillara commemorates the construction of the channel which makes an outlet for the Lago di Bracciano. With a machine invented by Natale Marini the Tiber was dredged near the Casa di Rienzi.¹ Attilio Arnolfini was employed by him in hydraulic works in the Legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Ravenna.² He also paid particular attention to the harbours of Ancona³ and Civitavecchia.⁴ He had still further plans for economic improvement: the canalization of the Anio, the connexion of the Tiber with Lake Trasimene, the construction of a canal between Faenza and the Adriatic.⁵ But the times were not propitious for the execution either of these plans or of those for altering the course of the road from Rome to Terni and the provision of a better route to Tuscany.⁶

As regards the internal administration of the Papal States, even hostile observers admit that honest efforts were made by Pius VI. to improve the financial situation by raising the productive forces of his State and reforming the fiscal system. The success that attended these endeavours, however, did not

¹ NOVAES, XVI., I, 106.

² *Bull. Cont.*, VI., I, 196; LOMBARDI, II., 279 *seqq.* The works were directed by Cardinal Boncompagni as Legate. By a *Brief of August 26, 1785, the Pope authorized him to continue the work even after his appointment as Cardinal Secretary of State. *Epist.* 181, Papal Secret Archives.

³ ‘*Diario di Pio VI.’ on January 22, 1775 (*loc. cit.*), and Brunati’s *letter of June 6, 1787 (State Archives, Vienna). Cf. *Bull. Cont.*, VI., I, 231, 316; NOVAES, XVI., I, 45.

⁴ ‘*Diario di Pio VI.’ on January 22, 1775, and March 26, 1777 (*loc. cit.*); NOVAES, XVI., I, 26, 48.

⁵ *Bull. Cont.*, VI., I, 244, 484, 646, VI., 2, 1966, VI., 3, 2432.

⁶ NOVAES, XVI., 124 *seqq.*; BROSCHE, II., 156; GENDRY, I., 119. Cf. SILVESTRELLI, *Città, castelli e terre della regione Romana*, I., Città di Castello, 1914, 182. For the project of conducting the water from Lake Trasimene to the Chiana and thence into the Arno, v. NOVAES, XVI., I, 25 *seq.*, and the ‘*Diario di Pio VI.’ for April 12, September 4, November 20, December 22, 1779, and October 13, 1780 (*loc. cit.*).

come up to expectations, owing to some extent perhaps to Pius VI.'s unfortunate choice of officials.¹ The abolition, decreed in 1777, of all customs-dues within the States of the Church, with the exception of the Legation of Bologna, was undoubtedly a beneficial measure, though its effect was gravely impaired by the inability to refrain from fixing the market-prices officially in order to prevent a scarcity of goods. The attempt to increase the revenue by reforming the fiscal system failed, as did also the efforts made to abolish the financial privileges enjoyed by Bologna.² Nor did the introduction of manufactures and new industries³ produce the desired results. To improve the agriculture of the Campagna, Pius, in 1783, after the completion of the cadastral survey, which was a vast undertaking, ordered a fifth of the estates

¹ Brunati's *report of October 27, 1784, where the opinion is held that Pius VI thought more of a man's appearance than of his qualifications (*loc. cit.*).

² BROSCHE, II., 158-166. Regarding Bologna, *v.* the rare memorial of the future Cardinal Erskine: "Scrittura in forma di supplica coll' intero Sommario de' Documenti stata umiliata nell' anno 1781, alla Santità del Regnante Sommo Pontefice Pio VI. dall' ambasciatore di Bologna in Roma a favore delle Ragioni della di lui patria e Senato sul nuovo piano economico di quella provincia" (no place of publication; 1784). *Cf.* also UNGARELLI, *Il periodo prenapoleonico in Bologna*, in *Nuova Antologia*, November, 1909, 100 *seqq.*; MORONI, LXXIV., 316 *seq.*; HERGENRÖTHER, *Kirchenstaat*, 54; BENIGNI, 99 *seqq.*; *Civ. Catt.*, Quad. 1354 (1906), 437 *seqq.*

³ *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th series, XX. 416, 418, 420, 427-9, 433, 474 *seq.*; *Bull. Cont.* VI., 3, 2420; NOVAES, XVI., 1, 37, 55, 155, 167, 168, XVI., 2, 218; "Diario di Pio VI." on May 10, 1775 (inspection of "edificio per la fabbrica di tele" in the Piazza Termini), February 2 and May 24, 1777 (*loc. cit.*). For the foundation of the "Conservatorio Pio per le manifatture di lino, canape e lane" instituted by Pius VI. "alle falde del Gianicolo" and subsequently supported by him, *v.* ibid.*, on December 14, 1776, October 29, 1777, March 14 and December 26, 1778, July 28, 1779, July 5, 1780, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* NOVAES, XVI., 1, 26.

to be put under cultivation.¹ He also occupied himself with the advancement of the fisheries in the Papal States.² He did the best with the resources at his disposal to mitigate the effects of such acts of God as thunderstorms, earthquakes, famine, and the flooding of the Tiber in 1777 and 1785.³ The lunatic asylum, the German College in Rome, the Accademia Ecclesiastica, the Collegio Clementino, and the poor-house near the Forum also benefited from his boundless generosity.⁴ All these outgoings gravely affected the Papal finances, which were precarious enough when Pius assumed office, but in the long run they were of benefit to the State.⁵

Numerous instances are cited by Pius VI.'s biographers of the great care he took in the administration of justice.⁶ Severe as he was in the punishment of crime—he retained the death penalty in spite of Beccaria—he took into consideration the humanitarian views of the time in regard to the prison system. Clement XI. had already given expression to the corrective aspect of the infliction of punishment by establishing the boys' prison of S. Michele in Rome.⁷ Pius VI. saw to the complete rebuilding of the State prison in the fortress of San Leo, near Rimini, where the prisoners languished away in horrible dungeons, and gave orders for their more humane

¹ TAVANTI, II., 12. For the Catasto Piano, *v.* NICOLAI, I., 1 *seqq.*; TOMASSETTI, I., 228 *seq.*

² ‘*Diario di Pio VI.’ on February 23 and September 2, 1780 (*loc. cit.*).

³ NOVAES, XVI., I, 44, 48, 63, 95, 124 *seq.*, 154 *seq.* For the help given at the flooding of the Tiber, *v.* ‘*Diario di Pio VI.’ on December 31, 1777, and January 7, 1778 (*loc. cit.*). For the earthquake of October, 1785, *cf.* GENDRY, II., 68.

⁴ NOVAES, XVI., I, 200 *seq.*

⁵ REUMONT's judgment (III., 2, 661).

⁶ NOVAES, XVI., I, 27, 58, XVI., 2, 191. *Cf.* TAVANTI, I., 51; *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th series, XX., 391.

⁷ *Cf.* our account, vol. XXXIII., 499. An entry for April 6, 1776, in the ‘*Diario di Pio VI.’ notes the project of adding a wing to the Ospizio di S. Michele as a boys' reformatory. *Loc. cit.*

treatment and better nourishment.¹ At the end of 1785 he vigorously promoted the revision of the penal code.² The disturbances accompanying the outbreak of the Revolution, however, put a stop to his beneficial activity as also to his efforts to advance the cause of learning and art.

(3)

Though not a man of letters, Pius VI. was a great lover of books; he possessed a choice library of his own, which was to be left to his native town of Cesena.³ The foreign representatives, especially the Spanish, Austrian, and French ambassadors, took good care to gratify him with presents of printed works, engravings, and medals.⁴ His predilections in this respect were so well known that one scholar, when offering him his congratulations on his election, presented him with a literary work, thinking that this was the best way of finding

¹ *Arch. stor. ital., loc. cit.*, 433; TAVANTI, II., 13; NOVAES, XVI., 1, 155.

² *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 2, 1529 seq. Brunati *reported to Colloredo on November 30, 1785, that this project was meeting with difficulties on the part of the Romans: "Questo nuovo codice farà sempre onore agli autori del medesimo non meno che alle umanissime e rette intenzioni del S. Padre" (State Archives, Vienna). The "invenzione del Cavalletto" for the punishment of delinquents was noted by *Fr. Fortunati on December 27, 1784 (Cod. Vat. 10730, Vatican Library).

³ **Diario di Pio VI.* on November 19 and December 27, 1777 (*loc. cit.*); NOVAES, XVI., 1, 33. Neither this donation nor the building of a library ever came about (TAVANTI, I., 63), as during the French occupation the Pope's library was scattered in all directions (Catal. Palat. lat., I., cxxvi; E. MÜNTZ in *Mélanges Havet*, 583 seq.). Various volumes from the Pope's library are still to be found in bookshops; I myself bought several in the '90's. Pius VI. also defrayed the cost of printing and publishing Muccioli's catalogue of the Biblioteca Malatestiana at Cesena (BLUME, *Iter*, II., 166).

⁴ *Corresp. des Directeurs*, XIV., 10, 24, 33, 40, 42 seq., 79.

favour with him.¹ The Pope was delighted when the Benedictines of Subiaco gratified a wish of his and presented him with one of the three copies of St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* printed by Schweinheim and Pannartz in the reign of Paul II.² A glance at the register of Briefs shows how many were the literary works presented to the Pope. Acting on the principle that everyone who was working for the advancement of knowledge was deserving of his praise and good wishes,³ he had so many encouraging and appreciative letters sent to scholars of every nation that he brought to mind the times of Benedict XIV. It gave him a special pleasure to thank the donors of books written in defence of the Church and the Holy See, in view of the spate of anti-religious works.⁴ But there are also extant letters of thanks for works dealing with geography,⁵

¹ *Brief of thanks to Dominicus de Iovio of May 9, 1775, *Epist.* 175 (Papal Secret Archives).

² *Memorie del monasterio di S. Scolastica di Subiaco', in the archives of this monastery.

³ *Brief of thanks to Vincentius Arianus, of May 19, 1775, for his *Commentarius de claris iurisconsultis Neapolitanis* (*Epist.* 175, *loc. cit.*).

⁴ *Briefs to Hier. Besange (Benedict. Cremifan.), September 9, 1775; to Canonico Du Creux, September 27, 1775; Alf. de' Liguori, November 14, 1775; Luigi de Poix (Capua), December 13, 1775; Ladislaus Sappel ord. s. Franc. recoll., December 23, 1775; Claudius Franc. Nonnotte, January 23, 1776; Chaudon, Benedict. Congreg. Cluniacensis, May 11, 1776; Lucas Nicolaus de Luca, May 24, 1776; Lorenzana, Archbishop of Toledo, June 20, 1776. In his *Brief to Charles Albert, Prince of Hohenlohe, of January 21, 1786, the Pope expressed his regret that owing to their being in German, he was unable to read the works the prince had written for the confirmation of the faith (*Epist.*, 175, 176, 181, *loc. cit.*). For Camillo Zampieri, who opposed Rousseau's *Émile* with his metrical paraphrases from the Book of Tobias, v. LOMBARDI, V., 47.

⁵ *Briefs to Georg, Baron de Pflacher, of August 26, 1775, and February 7, 1776 (thanking him for the three volumes of his *Topographica descriptio*; *Epist.*, 175, *loc. cit.*).

archæology,¹ history,² canon law,³ and the history of music.⁴ Brief after Brief was written in praise of the fertile literary activity of the Archbishop of Toledo, Francisco Antonio Lorenzana, who had edited the Mozarabic breviary, the Spanish Councils, the works of the Archbishops of Toledo, and those of St. Isidore of Seville.⁵ A German historian whom the Pope held in particularly high esteem was the learned Prince Abbot of St. Blasien, Martin Gerbert, whose personal acquaintance he had made in Rome and whom he met again when visiting Vienna.⁶ He was on intimate terms with the Italian scholars Francesco Antonio Zaccharia, the ex-Jesuit, and the Dominican Tommaso Maria Mamachi; the former he appointed Professor of Church History at the Roman

¹ In his *Brief to the King of Naples of April 19, 1776, Pius VI. thanked him for sending the "septem antiquitatum Herculaneusium volumina" and praised the king's efforts to promote learning ("opportunitissime accidisse iudicavimus, ut iam interea obruti ac latentes illi thesauri vestro tempore detegerentur"), which was now enjoying a revival (*Epist.*, 176, *loc. cit.*). Here also is the *Brief of March 6, 1776, to the "abbas de Lubersiac" for his work *De publicis a prima origine mundi ad nostram usque aetatem monumentis*.

² *Brief of February 21, 1778, to Abbot Froben of St. Emmeram's, at Regensburg, for his edition of Alcuin's works (Ratisbonae, 1777). *Epist.*, 177, *ibid.* For Mozzi's *Storia delle rivoluzioni della chiesa d'Utrecht*, see LOMBARDI, I., 168.

³ *Brief to Vinc. Lupoli, of May 17, 1777, *Epist.*, 176 (*loc. cit.*).

⁴ *Brief to Martin Gerbert, of September 18, 1775, thanking him for his important work on the history of music, *De cantu et musica sacra* (two vols.), *Epist.*, 175 (*ibid.*).

⁵ *Briefs of June 20, 1776, and December 1, 1785, *Epist.*, 175 and 181 (*ibid.*).

⁶ Besides that cited at n. 4, *Briefs were sent to Gerbert on May 3, 1776 (thanking him for the dedication of his *Vetus liturgia alemannica*, two vols., 1776), on September 1, 1784 (thanking him for the *Historia Nigrae Silvae*), on March 1, 1786 (thanking him for the three-volumed *Script. eccles. de musica sacra*, 1784), and on July 24, 1790 (thanking him for the *Ecclesia militans regnum Christi in terra*), *ibid.*

University, the latter, in 1782, Maestro del Sacro Palazzo, in which capacity Mamachi directed the *Giornale Ecclesiastico*, which made its first appearance in 1785. Both these scholars were faithful defenders of the Papal rights, Mamachi producing a work on the authority of the Pope in which he opposed the tendencies of Febronianism.¹ It was at the Pope's suggestion that Antonio Serassi wrote a history of Cesena.² He commissioned Gaetano Marini with the edition of the inscriptions of the Fratres Arvales which were found during the building of the sacristy of St. Peter's,³ and the antiquary Georg Zoëga with the classification of all the available information about obelisks. It is to the lasting honour of Pius VI. that by granting an annuity to this great and conscientious archæologist he enabled him to complete his pioneering studies,⁴ which are still being discussed at the present day.

Pius VI. was highly interested in the complete edition of the works of St. Maximus, Bishop of Turin. The editor, Bruni, received extensive subsidies, and instructions were sent to the nuncios to have a search made by scholars in all the libraries for the manuscripts of this Church Father, to take copies of them, to collate them, and to collect the important variants.⁵ The Pope saw to it personally that a valuable manuscript from the convent of S. Scolastica, at Subiaco, was placed at Bruni's disposal.⁶ When the work appeared in 1784, the cost of the

¹ MORONI, XLII., 97; LOMBARDI, I., 225 *seqq.*, 229 *seq.*

² GENDRY, I., 96. Serassi was also commissioned by Pius VI. to write a life of the painter I. Mazzoni (*v.* LOMBARDI, IV., 184). He also co-operated in the edition of the *Divina Commedia* annotated by the Franciscan Conventual Bartolommeo Lombardi in 1791.

³ MARINI, *Atti e monumenti dei fratelli Arvali*, Roma, 1795.

⁴ MICHAELIS in the *Allg. Deutschen Biogr.*, XLV., 392 *seqq.* For the part played by Zoëga, in conjunction with Winckelmann and E. Q. Visconti, in founding the science of archæology, *v.* KÉKULÉ, *Leben F. G. Welckers*, 81.

⁵ *Lebensgeschichte Pius' VI.*, II., 330.

⁶ The Brief to the Abbot in GENDRY, I., 497. The Abbot noted in his *reply that in spite of his (the Pope's) cares and the demands

printing having been borne by himself, he had copies sent to such outstanding scholars as the Abbot Martin Gerbert¹ and Lorenzana, the Archbishop of Toledo.²

Two most industrious Roman scholars, Pier Luigi Galletti and Francesco Cancellieri, were frequently assisted by the Pope. Galletti was the model of a hard-working Benedictine; his memory is perpetuated not only by his writings but still more by the manuscripts which, as its Keeper, he collected for the Vatican Library. These, as is well known, are an inexhaustible mine of information for the historical investigator. Pius VI. rewarded him by creating him a Bishop and by consecrating him with his own hands in S. Paolo fuori le Mura, attached to which church was the monastery where Galletti lived.³ Cancellieri dedicated all his works, which likewise contained a wealth of information, to the Pope. His four-volumed work on the "Secretaria",⁴ both pagan and Christian, especially those of the Vatican

of business "studia praesertim sacra, quae ab ineunte aetate excoluisti et unice dilexisti, provehere ac tueri non cesses". Archives of S. Scolastica at Subiaco.

¹ *Brief to Gerbert of July 23, 1785, *Epist.*, 181, Papal Secret Archives.

² In the *Brief of December 1, 1785, the following comment was made on the edition of the works of St. Maximus: "Visum fuit Nobis esse operae pretium, ut, si quas de universa Ecclesia gerimus curas, etiam ad tam egregii ac tam vetusti Doctoris monumenta extenderemus, unde maior adhuc perspectiorque fieri posset ad eamdem Ecclesiam iuvandam illustrandamque accessio. Proinde contendendum duximus, ut ea multo quam antea emendatiora auctioraque prodirent in publicum." *Epist.*, 176, 181, *ibid.*

³ *Notizie spettanti alla vita del P. abbate Pierluigi Galletti*, Roma, 1793; RENAZZI, IV., 371; *Studi e docum.*, XXIV., 187.

⁴ In ancient Roman times the *Secretarium* was where the judges sat in council and heard witnesses and contending parties. In the Church, according to Paulinus (*Epist.*, 12, n. 16), it was the sacristy or a place where one could study Holy Scripture, also a subsidiary building attached to the church, etc.

Basilica, were printed at the Pope's expense.¹ Paolo Antonio Paoli, the historian of the Order of St. John, was appointed by Pius president of the Accademia Ecclesiastica, which he had reorganized.²

Notable services were rendered by Pius VI. to the Roman University, where he set up chairs of obstetrics and surgery ; the former was given to Francesco Asdrubali, who had been trained in France, the latter to the Corsican, Giuseppe Sisco.³ The new order of studies evolved by the Rector, Costantini, and ratified by the Pope in 1788 amounted to a reform of higher education. It fixed the number of professors at forty-one : five each for languages and literature, philosophy, mathematics, and physics, six each for theology and jurisprudence, nine for medicine and surgery.⁴

Belles-lettres did not flourish under Pius VI. ; scholarly works predominated, especially those dealing with ecclesiastical matters.⁵ The poet Alfieri wished to dedicate his *Saul* to the

¹ CANCELLIERI, *Possessi*, 421 ; G. BARALDI, *Notizie biogr. del Ab. Fr. Cancellieri*, in *Memorie di religione*, XIII., Modena, 1828, 373 seqq., 391 seq., 394, 451 seqq. ; ADEMOLLO, *L'abbate Cancellieri*, in *Rivista Europea*, 1877, II., 1 seqq. ; A. MORONI, *Catalogo delle opere del Cancellieri*, Roma, 1881.

² RENAZZI, IV., 348.

³ *Ibid.*, 383 seqq. ; E. CURATOLO, *L'arte di Juno Lucina in Roma*, Roma, 1901, 182 seqq. For Sisco cf. also *Bibliografia Romana*, I. (1880), 223 seqq.

⁴ RENAZZI, IV., 386 seqq., 389 seqq.

⁵ During his stay in Vienna in 1782 Pius imparted the Apostolic blessing to the dying Metastasio through his nuncio there (BAUMGARTNER, *Wellliteratur*, VI., 515). Many other works were dedicated to the Pope, e.g. the first volume of the *Storia naturale dell'Agro Romano* by the naturalist Filippo Luigi Gilii (b. 1756, d. 1821). Cf. G. LAIS in the *Mem. di. pontif. Accad. dei Nuovi Lincei*, VI. (1890), 7, where there is a list of Gilii's works, both printed and unprinted. Comolli's *Bibliografia storico-artistica dell'architettura civile ed arti subalterne*, Roma, 1788-1792, 4 vols., was also dedicated to Pius VI. This was the first real bibliography of art, planned on broad lines, but the turmoil of the Revolution prevented its completion (v. SCHLOSSER, *Kunstlit.*, 3-4).

Pope but Pius VI. declined to accept this or any other work intended for the stage.¹ Piqued by this refusal, Alfieri composed a sonnet satirizing the Papacy before leaving Rome the following year. A sharp answer to this attack was supplied by the poet Vincenzo Monti, who came to live in Rome in 1778. Monti was the Papal nephew's secretary, and the verses he wrote to celebrate his master's wedding won him the special favour of the Pope.² A great writer of occasional poetry, Monti composed a verse on the bust of Pericles which had been set up in the Museo Clementino. He wrote, with allusion to Pius VI.: "Even in the Greek Elysium, that despised kingdom, there is one exalted spirit fit to pay you homage." In his *Feroniade* he celebrated the great civilizing work of the reclamation of the Pontine Marshes.³ The subject of one of his sonnets was the recantation of Febronius.⁴ One of his best poems was the *Pellegrino apostolico*, which was written on the occasion of the Pope's journey to Vienna, where he was to visit Joseph II. The hopes the poet entertained of the monarch's filial love of the Head of the Church were, however, not destined to be realized.⁵ In 1783 Monti had all his sacred poems, together with the *Pellegrino apostolico*, printed in Siena and dedicated them to the Pope; his profane poetry he dedicated to Luigi Braschi.⁶

¹ VICCHI, *V. Monti, le lettere e la politica 1781-1790*, Faenza, 1883, 154.

² VICCHI, *loc. cit.*, 25 *seqq.*, 44 *seqq.*, 191. Through L. Braschi Monti was given the post of Roman agent for Rieti; v. A. SACCHETTI-SASSETTI, *V. Monti, agente in Roma del comune di Rieti 1773-1797*, Rieti, 1903. For Monti's intimate relations with Braschi's wife, v. BANDINI in *La Lettura*, 1924, No. 8.

³ VICCHI, 248 *seqq.*; *Deutsche Rundschau*, 1898, 399.

⁴ VICCHI, 400.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 144 *seqq.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, 223. Pius VI. suffered some annoyance on more than one occasion as the result of a dispute which arose in the "Arcadia" about the crowning as poetess of the ambitious Maria Maddalena Morelli-Fernandez, who was known by the Arcadian name of Corilla Olympica. An improviser who accompanied her verses on the violin, she found protectors in the

Prominent among the works the Pope allowed to be dedicated to himself were two editions de luxe of the largest format : Visconti's description of the Museo Pio-Clementino,¹ of which both the text and the execution of the plates are of the first order, and Zoëga's work on the obelisks, in the dedication of which Marini hails Pius VI. as the protector of Egyptology, which was then in the first stages of efflorescence.² Georg Zoëga, who returned to the Church in Rome in 1783,³ was the

eccentric Principe Luigi di Castiglione, the last of the Gonzagas, and the "Custode" of the "Arcadia", the Abate Gioacchino Pizzi, who, after her coronation in the "Arcadia" pressed for her coronation on the Capitol. All the anti-Jesuits were on her side, but there was also an opposing party, the most prominent member of which was Fr. Cancellieri. As not only Cardinal Negroni but also the Secretary of State, Pallavicini, was in favour of Corilla's crowning, Pius VI. reluctantly gave permission for it in July, 1776, while doing his best to lessen its importance. The crowning took place on August 31, 1776, attended, however, by not a single Cardinal and by only a few members of the public. On her homeward journey the "poetess" had to be protected from insults and on the same day she had to leave Rome. Cf. ADEMOLLO, *Corilla Olympica*, Firenze, 1887, and *Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.*, X., 449 seqq., XX., 311 seqq. A passage from a letter written by the Count di Rivera to Cardinal Della Lanze and published by Cibrario (*Lettere*, 515) shows how irritated the Pope was by the whole affair : "Continua il Papa a mostrarsi stranito sempre ed irritato per gli accidenti occorsi nella ridicola scena dell' incoronata poetessa Corilla. Risponde negativamente a tutte le domande che se gli fanno e non dà che brevissime udienze ; 10 minuti ha trattenuto ultimamente il card. Segretario di Stato che vorrebbe che ne andasse a villeggiare, e non più di 4 minuti il card. Castelli che è quegli veramente che tra i zelanti più ha declamato contro la permessa incoronazione della diffamata improvvisatrice."

¹ STARCK, *Systematik und Geschichte der Archäologie der Kunst*, Leipzig, 1880, 243. Cf. below, p. 79.

² HAUTECEUR, 107 ; STARCK, *loc. cit.*, 247.

³ RAESS, *Konvertiten*, X., 361 seqq. ; A. D. JORGENSEN, *Georg Zoëga*, in *Et Mindenskrift*, Kobenhavn, 1881 ; F. G. WELCKER, *Zoëgas Leben*, Stuttgart-Tübingen, 1819.

especial protégé of Cardinal Stefano Borgia, who was distinguished not only for his encouragement of scholars¹ but also for his own writings. His three-volumed work on the medieval history of Benevento, which appeared in 1763, was followed in Pius VI.'s pontificate by several works on ecclesiastical antiquities and a study of the Confessio in St. Peter's. He was awarded the purple for a work that appeared in 1788, a documented defence of the feudal rights of the Holy See over the kingdom of Naples, which were contested by the Bourbon Government.²

Cardinal Borgia was an ardent collector of pagan and Christian antiquities, coins, and manuscripts. As secretary and then as head of the Propaganda he availed himself of its far-reaching connexions to establish collections which were as varied as they were valuable and which were kept in his ancestral palace at Velletri.³ Goethe, who saw the collections in 1787, considered it unpardonable not to pay more frequent visits to these treasures which were so near Rome. The Cardinal, with considerable means at his disposal, had his

¹ The variety and extent of Borgia's connexions with other scholars can be gauged from the *correspondence collected together in Arm. XXXIII., t. 15, of the Archives of the Propaganda. These letters are mostly on intellectual subjects and unfortunately they cover only two years. Among the Italian scholars that figure here are S. Assemani, Rossini, G. Tiraboschi, A. M. Bandini, Ir. Affò, G. Andres, G. Marini, I. Morelli, D. Testa, and Leop. Camilla Volta.

² FR. CANCELLIERI, *Elogio del card. Stef. Borgia*, Roma, 1806; COST. BORGIA, *Notizie biografiche del card. Stef. Borgia*, Roma, 1843; G. BARALDI, *Notizia biografica sul card. Stefano Borgia di Velletri*, Modena, 1830; FR. MÜNTER, *Kardinal Stephan Borgia*, Kobenhavn, 1805. There is an excellent portrait in oils of Borgiano in the Propaganda in Rome.

³ *Documenti per i Musei d'Italia*, III., 395 seqq.; BLUME, *Iter*, II., 246; E. BORSON, *Lettre sur le cabinet de S.E.M. le card. Borgia à Velletri*, Roma, 1796. In Murat's time the Museo Borgiano, which also included many Etruscan and Faliscan antiquities, was absorbed partly by the Museo Borbonico in Naples, partly by the Propaganda or Vaticana.

treasures elucidated by scholars of the first rank, making no objection to several of them being of the Protestant faith. In 1782 there was published in Rome a description of the coins and Cufic inscriptions in the Borgia collection at Velletri by the Protestant theologian and orientalist Jakob Adler.¹ Another Protestant theologian, Friedrich Münter, who afterwards became Bishop of Zeeland and made a name for himself as an ecclesiastical historian, formed a lasting friendship with Borgia when in Rome in 1784.² The Cardinal could hardly have found anyone more competent than Zoëga to describe his numismatic collection. In procuring for him an annuity from the Pope, in return for which Zoëga was to act as interpreter to the Propaganda, he saved this great scholar for Rome and the general cause of learning.³ Zoëga justified Borgia's confidence in him by producing a description of the Egypto-Roman coins in his collection⁴ which won the admiration of all the experts by its exactness, its searching judgment, and its astonishing knowledge. Zoëga also wrote a catalogue of the Coptic manuscripts in his patron's possession.⁵ Through Zoëga the Cardinal came so closely in touch with all the Danish visitors to Rome that he was regarded as their protector, and on January 19, 1786, he joined with them in celebrating the feast of St. Canute. The Cardinal also formed connexions with such German scholars and writers as Heeren, Siebenkees, Hirt, von Murr, Fernow, and Count Friedrich Leopold zu Stolberg,

¹ IAC. G. CH. ADLER, *Museum Cuficum Borgianum Velitris*, Romae, 1782; continuation, 1792. Cf. BLUME, *Iter*, II., 246; *Allg. Deutsche Biogr.*, I., 85 seq.

² *Writing to the Cardinal on January 30, 1795, Münter sent him his New Year greetings and referred to their friendship as a "grande delizia della sua vita". (Original in the codex of the Archives of the Propaganda mentioned on p. 53, n. 1.)

³ MICHAELIS in the *Allg. Deutsche Biogr.*, XLV., 392 seq.

⁴ *Numi Aegyptii imperatorii prostantes in Museo Borgiano Velitris*, Romae, 1787.

⁵ The *Catalogus codic. coptic. manuscript. qui in Museo Borgiano Velitris adservantur*, printed by the Propaganda, did not appear till after Zoëga's death in 1810.

with the result that the Göttingen Academy rewarded his services by electing him an honorary member.¹ Stolberg could find no words good enough to describe the cordial reception given by the Cardinal to every traveller, especially if he came from the North.²

As Zoëga had already paid some attention to obelisks in his description of Borgia's numismatic collection, the Pope, at the beginning of 1788, entrusted him with the compilation of the vast work already mentioned, which was to include for the first time everything that was worth knowing about these monuments. During nine laborious years Zoëga collected meticulously every reference to obelisks in ancient and modern literature and in monuments ; he confuted the false views that had been held on the purpose of obelisks, he clearly distinguished their epochs, explained at length the Egyptian worship of the dead, and produced all available information about hieroglyphic writing viewed externally, while prudently refraining, in view of the inadequate information then available, from venturing an interpretation of the symbols. Nevertheless, he rightly distinguished hieroglyphs from purely pictorial representations and imparted a high degree of probability to Barthélemy's conjecture (subsequently of vital importance in the deciphering of the hieroglyphs) that the so-called cartouches enclosed the titles of kings.³

Besides Borgia, several other scholars were raised to the purple by Pius VI. Mention has been made elsewhere of the Archbishop of Toledo, Lorenzana ; similar creations were those of Garampi and Gerdil.

The Barnabite, Giacinto Gerdil, had already made a great

¹ MICHAELIS, *loc. cit.*, 394. Cf. the collection of letters cited on p. 53, n. I.

² *Letter to Borgia, dated from Eutin, July 24, 1794, Cod. cit. of the Archives of the Propaganda. *Ibid.*, a *letter from Münter to the Cardinal, dated from Lübeck, September 17, 1794, conveying greetings from Stolberg, "vive ora nelle rimembranze delle bellezze della felice Italia." O. G. Tychsen also sent the Cardinal his "respetti" through Münter.

³ MICHAELIS, *loc. cit.*, 395 ; STARCK, *Systematik*, 247.

reputation for himself with his philosophical and theological works in the time of Benedict XIV. Pius VI. called him to Rome and made him Consultor to the Inquisition. Gerdil did so well in this position that a cardinalate was conferred on him as early as June 27th, 1777. This was soon followed by his appointment as the Prefect of the Propaganda and as member of many Congregations. In spite of his heavy burden of official duties he managed to continue his literary activity. Just as in the past he had defended the Catholic position against Locke and Rousseau, he now came forward with several works distinguished for their scholarliness and sound principles to counter the anti-papal aims of the Josephist Eybel, Febronius, and the Synod of Pistoia. A dissertation written by him on the statement made by Febronius on the occasion of his recantation elicited a laudatory Brief from the Pope.¹

Giuseppe Garampi, who had once been Prefect of the Papal Secret Archives but had not been able to pursue his studies since the days of Clement XIII., continued with his diplomatic duties so successfully under Pius VI. that he gained his admission to the Sacred College in February 1785. The remaining few years of his life he spent either in his diocese of Montefiascone or in the German College in Rome, of which he was the Protector. In 1792 he published a historical and legal defence of the rights of the Holy See to Avignon.² He died in May of that year and was buried in SS. Giovanni e Paolo, where the inscription on his tomb rightly praises the merits of the man who had made the first attempt to compile a systematic catalogue of the treasures of the Papal Secret Archives.³

¹ On March 3, 1793. G. PIANTONI, *Vita del card. Giac. A. Gerdil e analisi delle sue opere*, Roma, 1851; HERGENRÖTHER in the *Freib. Kirchenl. V.*, V.³, 361 seqq.

² GARAMPI, *Allegazione ist.-crit.-diplom.-legale in risposta all'Aut. delle ricerche istoriche concernenti i diritti incontrastabili del Papa sulla città e stato di Avignone, munita delle opportune giustificazioni, accresciuta di nuove ragioni e documenti*, Roma, 1792.

³ FORCELLA, X., 12. For Garampi, see our account, vol. XXXV., 224, n. 2; XXXVI., 191, 192, 197 seqq.

Another friend of learning was Cardinal Zelada, who formed a choice library and a celebrated collection of antiquities, especial y coins.¹ He wrote a work on numismatics² and was interested also in the progress of medicine, physics, and astronomy; the observatory of the Roman College owes its origin to him.³ On the death of Cardinal Albani at the end of 1779, the Pope appointed Zelada to succeed him as Librarian of the Holy Roman Church.⁴ He was allotted the apartments near the Tor de' Venti which had once been occupied by Benedict XIV.⁵ The administration of the Vaticana, which had been neglected under Zelada's two predecessors, was in urgent need of reform. Garampi made some far-seeing proposals in this direction and offered excellent suggestions for new undertakings in the field of scholarship. Zelada fell in with these ideas at first and a step was taken in the right direction in 1781, when facilities for the pursuance of his labours were granted to the research scholar from the north, Jakob Georg Christian Adler, of Copenhagen,⁶ notwithstanding the veto issued under Clement XIII. But in 1782, when the first Keeper, Stefano Evodio Assemani, died, and his place was taken by the wholly unsuitable Giuseppe Antonio Reggi, the reforming work was held up again. After 1789, when Zelada assumed the Secretaryship of State, he was too heavily engaged with the duties attached to that office to be able to remedy the situation.⁷

¹ MORONI, CIII., 463; BLUME, *Iter*, III., 74, 226, 229 *seq.* Zelada bequeathed only his books, of which there were a significantly large number of encyclopedic works, to the Vaticana, whereas his manuscripts went to the Chapter Library at Toledo, thence partly to the National Library in Madrid.

² *De nummis aliquot aereis uncialibus*, Romae, 1778, translated in MEUSEL'S *Hist. Lit.*, VI. (1781).

³ DENZA, *Pubblic. d. Specola Vatic.*, I., Roma, 1891, 18. Cf. also CURATOLO, *loc. cit.*, 207 *seqq.*

⁴ DENGEL in the *Mitteil. des Österr. Hist. Instituts*, XXV., 295.

⁵ 'Diario di Pio VI.' on January 12, 1780 (Campello Archives, Spoleto).

⁶ Cf. I. G. CH. ADLER, *Reisebemerkungen auf einer Reise nach Rom*, Altona, 1784.

⁷ DENGEL, *loc. cit.*, 308 *seq.*

Even before the Vatican Library had been put under the direction of Cardinal Zelada it had been enriched by Pius VI. with valuable manuscripts from the convent of S. Basilio, in Rome, and the Salviati Library.¹ The purchase of the *Codex Marchalianus* in 1785 was an acquisition of the first importance, for this manuscript, originating in Egypt certainly not later than the sixth century, has been of inestimable value for the critical appreciation of the text of the Septuagint.²

The Vatican collection of coins received handsome donations from Pius VI., who also took steps to improve its arrangement.³ The collection of seals and the Museo Profano, attached to the library, owe their inception to the Pope. In the latter institution cameos, glass, works in gold, silver, ivory, and bronze were displayed in magnificent cases,⁴ and here also was Christian Dehn's series of copies of gems, purchased in 1777.⁵

¹ FORCELLA, VI., 197; CARINI, *Bibl. Vatic.*, 123 seq. In 1797, in accordance with the peace treaty, five hundred MSS. had to be handed over to the French (BLUME, *Iter*, III., 74). They and the other surrendered antiquities are listed in E. MÜNTZ, *La bibliothèque du Vatican pendant la révolution française*, in *Mélanges Havet*, 588 seqq.

² TISCHENDORF, *Nova Coll.*, IX. (1870), 227 seqq.; complete photographic reproduction by COZZA-LUZI, with commentary by CERIANI, Roma, 1890 seqq.

³ BLUME, *Iter*, III., 82, 114; TAVANTI, I., 87; CARINI, 124 seq.; HAUTECŒUR, 218. Cf. also ‘*Diario di Pio VI.’ on June 15, 1776, *loc. cit.*

⁴ NOVAES, XVI., I, 44; CARINI, *loc. cit.*; ‘*Diario di Pio VI.’ on May 31, 1780 (*loc. cit.*): “La S^{ta} di N. S. si è determinata di far collocare il Museo delle Medaglie, statuette di bronzo, crogniole e altre pietre preziose nella contigua stanza dei papiri, che resta nella Libreria Vaticana. Pertanto sotto la direzione e disegno del Signore Cavalier Luigi Valadier si formeranno quattro nobilissimi armari di legno del Brasile a più colori contornati di metalli dorati con li suoi cristalli alli sportelli, entro li quali in buona simetria resteranno esposti alla pubblica vista li sudetti pregievoli antichi monumenti.”

⁵ NOACK, 406.

For the Sala Sistina in the library Pius VI. gave two large tables with slabs of Egyptian granite, on the gilt borders of which were depicted events of his pontificate.¹ Frescoes with similar subjects adorned the library gallery² and the entrance to the rooms occupied by Zelada, which afterwards contained the Etruscan Museum.³ The observatory established by Gregory XIII. was put in the charge of the library administration and was reconditioned by Pius VI., so that it was now as efficient as that of the Roman College.⁴ Numerous documents from Avignon were added to the Papal Secret Archives.⁵ Another development carried out at Pius VI.'s command was the extension of the Museo Kircheriano.⁶

¹ Described in BARBIER DE MONTAULT, II., 167 *seq.* Cf. NOVAES, XVI., I, 208.

² FORCELLA, VI., 192 *seq.*, 198 *seqq.*

³ " *Dall' em. de Zelada si fa riattare e nobilmente depingere il passeto che resta sopra il grand' ovale del Giardino della Pigna al Vaticano che conduce nel suo appartamento, determinato di trasportare in esso il più pregevole del suo Museo " (' Diario di Pio VI.', on August 19, 1780, *loc. cit.*). For the frescoes, cf. BARBIER, II., 129 *seq.*; FORCELLA, *loc. cit.* The frescoes have recently been taken down and moved to the residence of the director of the Museum.

⁴ DENZA, *loc. cit.*, I., 19 *seqq.*

⁵ MARINI, *Degli archivi della S. Sede*, Roma, 1825, 17. At that time the use of the Papal Secret Archives was allowed in certain cases; v. Du Theil in *Corresp. des Directeurs*, XIV., 178 *seq.*

⁶ NOVAES, XVI., I, 49.

CHAPTER II.

PIUS VI. AS PATRON OF THE ARTS—THE INFLUX OF FOREIGNERS INTO ROME.

PIUS VI., following the noble tradition of his predecessors, encouraged not only scholarship but also art. Outside Rome this principle was put into practice most notably at Subiaco, where he had been commendatory abbot since 1773.¹ Hardly

¹ Cf. above, p. 24. At Macerata Pius VI. promoted the building of the new cathedral (*v.* ‘*Diario di Pio VI.’, February 5, 1777, Campello Archives at Spoleto). An inscription in the cathedral at Spoleto (Pius VI. Pont. Max. | opus probavit | dato marmore | munifice adiuvit | anno MDCCLXXXVI.) records a consignment of marble from the Pope. In memory of the support he gave to these churches, the arms of Pius VI. have been set up in the porch of the cathedral of S. Maria at Civita Castellana and in the church at Polidoro. For his support of the cathedrals at Fermo and Orvieto, *v. Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 794, VI., 2, 1351. At Ancona he had the beautiful Porta Pia built. This is also crowned with his arms and until it was destroyed by the French in 1798 it bore the inscription: “Pio Sexto P.O.M. | magnanimo munifico providentissimo | Anconæ Patri et Instauratori | Aloysius Gazzoli Delegatus | et novemviri | nomini eius devotissimi plaudunt | anno sal. MDCCLXXXIX. Pont. XV.” Orphanages were founded by Pius VI. at Città di Castello and Fabriano (*v. NOVAES*, XVI., 1, 55, 125). *Ibid.*, 44, for his interest in the university and hospital of Ferrara. Cf. TAVANTI, I., 67; ‘De Summa Pii Sexti P.O.M. in Pontificiam Ferrariensem Academiam beneficentia Oratio habita prid. Non. Novem. anno 1779 a Hier. Ferrio Longianensi eloquentiae professore’, Romae, typis Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, 1780. On the first landing of the grand staircase of the university is an inscription dedicated to Pius VI.: “Pio VI. P.O.M. | ob academiae dignitatem | aucto censu | praeside designato | praefectura studior. instit. | novis litteris ludis

had he been elected Pope than he informed his Vicar General there that even in this supreme position he intended to retain the administration of the abbey in his own hands, and throughout his pontificate he never wearied of conferring favours, both spiritual and temporal, on the local inhabitants. With no stinting hand he saw to the restoration of the town hall and the residence of the Vicar General, to the improvement of the gaols, and to the building of mills and factories.¹ What he had especially in mind was the erection of a new cathedral, as the edifice then standing was not large enough to accommodate the growing population. Laid out on a rock above the Anio, the new building required large substructures; begun in 1776, it was not completed till 1788, and on May 18th, 1789, the Pope went to Subiaco in person to conduct the consecration, which took place on the 22nd.² On this occasion he also opened the new bridge over the Anio and visited the Sacro Speco and the highly situated Civitella, which, like the other mountain villages, had already benefited from his generosity.³ The cathedral of S. Andrea, a spacious structure in the classicist style, holding 5,000 persons,⁴ was designed by Pietro Camporese and his sons; the decorative painting was done by Coccetti. The Pope was very generous in providing for its internal equipment. He had the high altar faced with costly marble

apertis | aedibus amplificatis | restitutam | Praeses et VVir.
Col. | privilegiis denuo ornatum | fautori indulgentiss. |
H.M.PP. | Kal. Nov. a CIO.IO.CC.LXXX." For his support of the hospitals at Fermo and Imola, *v. Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 798, VI., 2, 1363, 1716, 1821; *ibid.*, VI., 2, 1775, 1800, for the girls' homes at Assisi and Ascoli, and VI., 2, 1779, for the orphanage at Terni.

¹ GENDRY, I., 138 *seqq.*, 141 *seqq.*

² C. BRANCADORO, *Pio Sesto Pontifice Massimo in Subiaco*, Roma, 1789. Further literature in P. EGIDI, *Abbazia Subiac.*, Roma, 1904; 31.

³ GENDRY, I., 142.

⁴ L. IELLA, *Per il primo centenario della morte di Pio VI.*, Subiaco, 1899, 7 *seqq.* The inscription in the interior of the cathedral is of 1789, that on the facade of 1795, Ann. XX.

and the church plate made by the goldsmith Valadier. In addition, the church received a sumptuous reliquary, altar-pieces, and suitable revenues.¹ Next to the cathedral was built the seminary, to which the Pope presented his private library.² He also provided for the rebuilding of the castle, in which there were still many reminiscences of Alexander VI., supplied it with a clock-tower, had it decorated with frescoes, and fitted it out with well-made furniture.³ Subiaco was raised to the status of a town and its coat-of-arms was joined by that of the Pope. As an expression of their gratitude the townsfolk had a triumphal arch erected by Camporese, with an inscription recording the Pope's benefactions.⁴

In Rome one of the first works taken in hand by Pius VI. was ecclesiastical. St. Peter's was in need of a spacious sacristy, a shortcoming which Pius VI. had appreciated when he had been a canon of the basilica. What Alexander VII., Clement XI., and Clement XII. had intended to do ⁵ was put into effect by Pius VI. Not for self-glorification, as the Pope's enemies put it about, but in honour of St. Peter, a splendid building worthy of the greatest church in Christendom was now to be erected.⁶

In April, 1776, Pius VI. began to examine the plans and models made in the days of his predecessors. The design that won his final approval was that of the Roman, Carlo Marchionne, the builder of the Villa Albani.⁷ In July already

¹ *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th Series, XX., 427, 435; GENDRY, I., 145 *seqq.*

² It comprises 7,000 vols. and is still in existence.

³ The clock-tower is of 1779. The chimney-piece on the Piano cortile bears the inscription "Pio VI. Anno III." The frescoes for the most part depict the places dependent on the abbey of Subiaco.

⁴ This and all the other inscriptions at Subiaco commemorating Pius VI. in GENDRY, I., 498-501.

⁵ MIGNANTI, II., 236 *seq.* Cf. our account, vol. XXXIV, 509, n. 5.

⁶ ' *Diario di Pio VI.', January 17, 1776, *loc. cit.*

⁷ GENDRY, I., 131. Cf. ' *Diario di Pio VI.', April 27, June 1, and July 31, 1776, according to which a plan of Bernini's sacristy

the little church of S. Stefano degli Ungari, belonging to the German College, and the neighbouring houses had been bought to make room for the new sacristy.¹ On September 22nd, 1776, the Pope himself laid the foundation stone² and afterwards paid frequent visits to the building site, where time and again finds of antiquities were made.³ In the summer of 1777 the old sacristy was demolished, and in December, 1779, the Porta Fabbrica and numerous houses were also taken down; the gate, however, was re-erected on another site and was renamed the Porta S. Pietro.⁴

It was soon seen that the building costs would prove to be much higher than the first estimate of 100,000 *scudi*,⁵ so the original plan had to be curtailed. Even then, the available funds were insufficient and a part of the profit from the lottery was appropriated, and when this, too, was found to be inadequate bonds were issued, and in 1781 paper money was increased.⁶ The work went on till 1784 and involved a total expenditure of one and a half million *scudi*.⁷ In June 1784 the

was found in the Chigi Archives. There is an entry on *December 7 that a monthly payment of 100 *scudi* was being made to Marchionne. *Loc. cit.*

¹ **Ibid.*, on June 5 and July 6, 1776.

² **Ibid.*, on September 21 and 25, 1776.

³ **Ibid.*, on August 28, 1776, is recorded that during the demolition of a wall near the Campo Santo dei Tedeschi there was found a small gold coin inscribed "K̄arolus Dei gratia Francorum rex", and on the reverse side "Deus regnat, Deus imperat". On December 7, 1776, is *recorded the discovery of Roman coins, on *March 12, 1777, that of two antique heads, which were taken to the Museo Pio-Clementino. The most famous find was that of the inscriptions of the Fratres Arvales. These and the other inscriptions immured in the connecting corridor in CANCELLIERI, *De Secret.*, IV., 2031 *seqq.* Cf. also G. HENZEN, *Acta fratrum Arvalium quae supersunt*, Berolini, 1874.

⁴ ' *Diario di Pio VI.', May 28, 1777, December 18, 1779, *loc. cit.* Cf. MIGNANTI, II., 239.

⁵ Letter of September 21, 1776, in L. CIBRARIO, *Lettere*, 515.

⁶ BROSCHE, II., 153.

⁷ BECCATINI, I., 147.

altar of the new sacristy was consecrated and the sacristy itself was put into use.¹ Hitherto it had been the heavy expenditure which had been severely criticized, especially in regard to the sumptuous furnishing of the interior²; now it was condemned also from the æsthetic point of view, and the new sacristy had to undergo the criticism which Apelles is said to have made of a painting of Venus: even if it was not beautiful it was certainly plentiful.³ Francesco Cancellieri, who wrote a full description of the building, denounced this judgment as unjust; in his eyes the building had but one defect: it stood next to the vast and wondrous structure of Bramante and Michelangelo.⁴

The sacristy is joined to St. Peter's by two raised passages which issue in the choir chapel and the left aisle of the basilica. It is also approached from the street by a broad double flight of steps, at the upper end of which is a statue of the builder, by Agostino Penna. In the centre of the sacristy is the "Sagrestia Comune", an octagonal, domed room, embellished with eight fluted columns of *bigio* marble from Hadrian's Villa. The capitals and the bronze cock standing on the clock were taken from the clock-tower of the old basilica. On the east of this central room lies the canons' sacristy, which leads to the chapter room. On the west side of the central room is the beneficiaries' sacristy, and the room corresponding to the chapter room is the "Guardaroba", which is used as the

¹ Reports of the Lucchese envoy in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th series, XX., 412; the inscriptions in FORCELLA, VI., 191, 194 *seq.*

² Even the wood which was used is precious. Pius VI. had it brought from Brazil (*v.* *Diario di Pio VI., August 28, 1779, *loc. cit.*).

³ BECCATINI, I., 148, and the caustic remarks in [BOURGOING-AZARA], I., 93 *seqq.* In a *letter to Colloredo of June 12, 1784, Brunati describes the sacristy as "grand' opera di così mal intesa architettura che assomiglia a un seraglio di fiere!" (State Archives, Vienna). Unfavourable and unfair opinions also in VOGEL, 88. Of later writers GURLITT (536) is critical, HARNACK (17) moderate.

⁴ CANCELLIERI, *Descrizione della Sagrestia Vaticana*, Roma, 1784. Cf. *id.*, *De Secret.*, IV., 1980; MIGNANTI, II., 240 *seqq.*

treasury. Connected with the sacristy on the south side are the canons' lodgings; on the upper floor are the archives of St. Peter's.

The basilica of St. Peter's was presented by the Pope with a bell weighing 28,000 lb.¹ and the two clocks at the ends of the attica of the vestibule; these are in mosaic and are surmounted with the tiara and crossed keys.² For the interior of the church the Pope provided mosaic frontals for twenty-five altars,³ new windows in the dome,⁴ and regilding for the ceiling of the nave, whereby the arms of Paul V. had to give place to those of the Braschi Pope.⁵ The magnificent ceiling of the Lateran Basilica, which had been completed by Pius V., also underwent repair, this being commemorated by Pius VI.'s name and crest.

The buildings of a utilitarian nature erected by Pius VI. were the orphanage on the slope of the Janiculum,⁶ a similar institute for the education of poor boys in the Piazza S. Salvatore in Lauro,⁷ the extension of the hospital of

¹ FORCELLA, VI., 195 *seq.* The consecration was performed by the Pope himself in June, 1786 (*v.* Brunati's *report of June 10, 1786). In his *report of July 12, 1786, Brunati criticized the installation of the bells, the large one being placed in the small dome (State Archives, Vienna).

² Brunati's *account of October 25, 1786, *ibid.* On the reverse side of the clocks, visible only from the roof of St. Peter's, is the inscription "Pio VI. A.XIV." FORCELLA, VI., 197; *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th series, XX., 418, 419, 428; MIGNANTI, II., 121.

³ FORCELLA, VI., 188; MIGNANTI, II., 122.

⁴ According to Fr. Fortunati's *notes (Cod. Vat. 10730, Vatican Library) a beginning was made on December 25, 1782, with the installation of the antependia (*cf.* FORCELLA, VI., 198; TAVANTI, I., 94; MIGNANTI, II., 122). *Ibid.*, 172 *seq.*, for other gifts made by Pius VI. For the new choir-stalls in S. Giovanni in Laterano, *v.* TAVANTI, I., 94.

⁵ NOVAES, XIV., 1, 108.

⁶ FORCELLA, XIII., 194 *seq.* *Cf.* above, p. 43, n. 3.

⁷ Now No. 10. It bears the inscription (not mentioned by FORCELLA) "Pius VI. P.M. Pauperum Pater" and (above the entrance) "Adolescentibus egenis instituen."

S. Spirito ¹ and of the lunatic asylum,² barracks for the Papal bodyguard,³ and a timber yard on the Tiber, near the Porta del Popolo.⁴ The Papal mosaic factory was given better premises in 1782, and the Zecca and the house of the Arch-priests of St. Peter's were restored.⁵ The Papal printing press was given its own building near the Fontana Trevi, and

¹ Inscription of 1789 in FORCELLA, VI., 459. *Ibid.*, 458, the inscription referring to the dispensary. But he omits to mention the second inscription on the façade of the hospital in the Borgo S. Spirito : " Pius sextus Pont. Max. | horreo ab Innocentio XII. aedificato | hanc aedium accessionem | nosocomio S. Spiritus | adiunxit | an. dom. MDCCLXXXIX. | pontif. XV. | curante Francisco de Albitiis praeceptore." Another inscription of 1789 is on the façade of the hospital in the Borgo Vecchio (Nos. 121-2). Pius VI. also presented the hospital with surgical instruments and anatomical preparations from London (*v. Corresp. des Direct.*, XIII., 122 ; FORCELLA, VI., 455 *seq.* ; TAVANTI, I., 53).

² NOVAES, XVI., 1, 55.

³ FORCELLA, VI., 195.

⁴ The site in the Lungo Tevere Flaminio is indicated by a large Papal coat of arms (removed at the end of 1906 to the right side of the Porta del Popolo) with the following inscription : " Pius sextus P.M. | Ne quid lignis periculi sit | A latronibus ab incendiis | Ab impervio aeris. meatu | Precibus mercatorum et fabrum lignariorum | Benignissime indulgens | Ex adverso veteris areae lignis | Exponendis a Clemente XII. excitatae | Novam empta ad id vinea | Muro circumseptam instrui iussit | Guillelmus S.R.E. card. Pallotta | Propraef. aerarii apost. | F.C. | A. MDCCLXXX." The inscription referring to the restoration of the walls of the Vatican Garden in FORCELLA, XIII., 43 ; *ibid.*, 116, that of the little fountain in the Borgo. The ' *Diario di Pio VI.' (November 2, 1776) records the demolition of the wooden fence at the Castel S. Angelo and its replacement by a fine iron railing (Campello Archives at Spoleto). An inscription of 1787 in the Via Collatina records the restoration of the Acqua Vergine. The proposed rebuilding of the Ponte Rotto was prevented by the outbreak of the Revolution (CANCELLIERI, *Mercato*, 67).

⁵ FORCELLA, VI., 188, 190 ; *L'Arte*, XIII. (1910), 456.

afterwards the engraving works where so many splendid drawings were produced were also moved to this site.¹ It was at this time that the standard of engraving was appreciably raised by the two Piranesi, Domenico Cunego, Giovanni Volpato, and Raffaello Morghen. Giambattista Piranesi, the incomparable master of architectural drawing and the classic portrayer of the imposing grandeur and the overpowering impressiveness of the ruined world of ancient Rome, died on November 9th, 1778. His son and pupil, Francesco, gave a monumental form to his father's works of genius by making a systematic collection of them in more than twenty volumes and dedicated to Pius VI. the first volume of his *Tempii antichi*.² Francesco Piranesi, excellent artist though he was, was surpassed by Giovanni Volpato. On his presenting the Pope at the beginning of 1779 with his engravings of the "School of Athens" and the "Disputa", Pius VI. gave him in return a complete collection of the medals which had been struck during his pontificate and a cameo of Pius V. set in brilliants. In the following year the exponent of Raphael was honoured by the Pope's presenting him with a ring of brilliants.³ In other ways, too, the Pope conferred distinctions on artists and frequently visited their studios. In the workshop of the goldsmith Luigi Valadier, in the Piazza di Spagna, he admired an

¹ FORCELLA, XIII., 195; *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th series, XX., 399; *Emporium*, 1922, Gennaio. " *Si può dire a gloria di Roma," wrote Brunati on October 27, 1787, " che da poco tempo a questa parte cominciano a risorgere e incaminarsi verso la perfezione la scoltura e le incisioni in rame." Brunati bestows especial praise in this connexion on Angelo Campanella, whom he had commissioned to make a copper engraving of two figures of Venus in a loggia painted by Raphael (State Archives, Vienna). Curiously there is no mention here of so great and original an artist as Piranesi.

² HARNACK, 20; FOCILLON, *Piranesi*, 132; GIESEKE, *Piranesi*, 121.

³ " *Diario di Pio VI.", January 27, 1779, and December 30, 1780, *loc. cit.*

artistic reproduction of Trajan's Column and invested its maker with the Order of the Golden Spur.¹

Adopting the suggestion of the learned Francesco Cancellieri² Pius VI. imparted a new feature to the appearance of the city by re-erecting three obelisks which had been brought to Rome from Egypt in the time of the Emperors. One of these monoliths, formerly belonging to the mausoleum of Augustus, made its appearance in 1781, unfortunately broken, near the church of S. Rocco. The Pope decided to erect it in the piazza outside the Quirinal, where it was to be placed between the statues of the horse-tamers and could be seen from the Quattro Fontane. The horse-tamers were too near to each other, and since the time of Sixtus V. had been facing the Porta Pia. In 1783 and 1784 Pius VI. had them moved to their present position by the architect Giovanni Antinori.³ The erection of the obelisk, which had been pieced together, followed in 1786.⁴ The addition of the antique fountain-basin from the temple of the Dioscuri, in the Forum, was also planned at this time⁵ but it was not carried out till the reign of Pius VII. The re-erection of the obelisk is recorded by four inscriptions on its granite base. On the marble pedestal on which the three monuments are placed a Latin epigram has been affixed, in which the obelisk relates its history and praises the solicitude of the Pope who had awakened it to a new life.⁶ This new adornment of the Quirinal met with great approval,⁷ and encouraged the Pope to embark on fresh enterprises of the kind. A second obelisk that once stood in the gardens of Sallust was set up in the piazza outside the Trinità dei Monti, also by the architect Antinori, in such a way as to be visible from the Via Sistina

¹ ' *Diario di Pio VI.'

² CANCELLIERI, *Mercato*, 164.

³ Lucchese reports in *Arch. stor. ital.*, *loc. cit.*, 407 seq. ; *Corresp. des Direct.*, XIV., 411, 464, and Brunati's *letters of August 20 and 30 and September 3, 1783 (State Archives, Vienna).

⁴ Lucchese reports, *loc. cit.*, 415, 419.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 420 ; CANCELLIERI, *Mercato*, 167.

⁶ FORCELLA, XIII., 135 seq. ; CANCELLIERI, *loc. cit.*, 168 seq.

⁷ HAUTECEUR, 106.

and the Via Condotti. Goethe was a witness of the works, which began in 1787 and were completed in 1789.¹ A third obelisk, which had been used by Augustus as the pointer of a sun-dial and which had been found in 1748, broken into three pieces, in the Campo Marzo, was intended for the Piazza di Monte Citorio, whence the base of the Antinous column had been removed to the Vatican. The work was begun by Antinori in 1788 and was finished, after his death, by Francesco Belli in 1792.² Besides its hieroglyphic signs the obelisk bears at its foot an inscription recording its dedication to the sun by Augustus after the subjection of Egypt. To its tip was affixed a metal ball such as it had borne in ancient times, according to Pliny. In conformity with Sixtus V.'s idea of using the ancient monuments to perpetuate the victory of Christianity over paganism,³ Pius VI. had the two other obelisks tipped with metal crosses. Very effectively sited, the obelisks set up by Pius VI. are still regarded as an embellishment of the general aspect of the city which no one now would like to lose. They carry the imagination back to the first beginnings of human civilization in the Nile valley and as the witnesses of a splendour long since passed away they are eloquent preachers of the vanity of all human things, which nowhere forces itself on the attention so powerfully as in the Eternal City.

The grandest work which Rome owes to Pius VI.'s love of art and his generosity is the extension of the Vatican museum of antiquities. Even in the previous pontificate, as Clement XIV.'s treasurer, he was the moving spirit at the outset of this undertaking.⁴ As Pope, supported by his treasurer, Guglielmo Pallotta, the two Viscontis, commissioners of antiquities, and the sculptors Sibilla, Pierantoni, and Franzoni, he shrank from no effort or expenditure in his

¹ *Arch. stor. ital., loc. cit.*, 419, 422, 423, 425, 429, 431; *Corresp. des Direct.*, XV., 329 *seqq.*, 334 *seq.*; CANCELLIERI, *loc. cit.*, 165.

² *Arch. stor. ital., loc. cit.*, 425, 427, 432, 433, 435, 437, 440; CANCELLIERI, *loc. cit.*, 171; HAUTECEUR, 107; FORCELLA, XIII., 136.

³ Cf. our account, vol. XXII., 239.

⁴ Cf. our account, vol. XXXVIII., 514.

determination to increase the collection as far as possible. He took the greatest interest in the relics of antiquity. In March, 1776, he spent two hours examining illustrations of newly discovered paintings from the baths of Titus.¹ When, in the autumn of 1777, a house of the imperial period with splendidly preserved pictorial decoration was discovered in the Villa Montalto, the Pope immediately thought of making it accessible to the public, which was done by the architect Camillo Buti.² Everything then in the way of antiquities which could be moved was to be assembled in the Vatican, and not merely statues, reliefs, sarcophagi, pillars, and mosaics, but also smaller objects such as coins, tomb-finds, and the like.³ He had taken to the Vatican the statues of Melpomene and Ceres from the Cancelleria, from the Castel S. Angelo the busts of Hadrian and Minerva, from S. Costanza the porphyry sarcophagus of Constantine the Great's daughter, from the Lateran that of St. Helena.⁴

In view of the Pope's zeal as a collector it was fortunate that several excavations were being undertaken at this time. Lest anything should escape him he secured the right of pre-emption and thus obtained the finds at first hand and at tolerable prices, evading the extortions of the dealers.⁵ But he employed the services of such agents as Albacini, Pacilli, Cavaceppi, Pocetti, Hamilton, and Jenkins. From Hamilton he acquired the Apollo Sauroktonos, which had been found on the Palatine, and busts of Homer and Hannibal.⁶ Through

¹ ' *Diario di Pio VI.', March 20, 1776, *loc. cit.*

² *Corresp. des Direct.*, XIII., 314; O. HARNACK, 21 *seqq.*

³ ' *Diario di Pio VI.', January 10, 1778, *loc. cit.*, where it is related that the body of a Roman woman with "capigliatura intrecciata", which had been found in the Vigna Pieri outside the Porta S. Sebastiano, was taken to the Papal museum. Cf. also PLATNER, II., 2, 133.

⁴ HAUTECŒUR, 67.

⁵ [BOURGOING-AZARA], I., 96; F. I. L. MEYER, *Darstellungen aus Italien*, Berlin, 1792, 117.

⁶ ' *Diario di Pio VI.', December 19, 1778, *loc. cit.* For Hamilton and Jenkins, cf. *Zeitschr. f. bildende Kunst*, 1879, 106 *seqq.*;

Jenkins' agency he obtained from the Villa Montalto the portrait-statues set up there by Sixtus V., which were known under the names of the Greek actors, Menander and Poseidippus. For these and other antique statues from this villa he paid 13,000 *scudi*.¹

The Pope's agents were untiring in their search for bargains, not only in Rome but outside it, as far afield as Naples.² Pius VI.'s interest in antiques being common knowledge, town councils, heads of monasteries, Cardinals, and Canons hastened to present him with valuable pieces.³

Most of the finds which came to light by chance in Rome, notably during the building of the sacristy of St. Peter's⁴ and of the poor-house by the Forum,⁵ and in the course of

A. MICHAELIS, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, Cambridge, 1882, 73 *seqq.*, 75 *seqq.* Cf. also MICHAELIS, *A Catalogue of the Ancient Marbles at Lansdowne House*, London, 1889, 51 *seqq.*; *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, XXIV. (1903), 153 *seq.*, XXVI. (1905), 182 *seqq.* Gavin Hamilton (1730-1797) was the regular agent for Charles Towneley, who was then forming his important collection of marbles, now in the British Museum. William, 2nd Earl of Shelbourne, purchased largely from Hamilton's excavations made in 1770-1780. Thomas Jenkins (d. 1798) was the principal English banker in Rome, and the profits from his business enabled him to take an active part in the excavations there. *Dictionary of National Biography*.

¹ MASSIMO, *Notizie ist. d. villa Massimo*, Roma, 1836, 221 *seq.*

² HAUTECŒUR, 67.

³ ARCKENHOLTZ, II., 52; TAVANTI, I., 94. The '*Diario di Pio VI.', *loc. cit.*, records the following donations: on November 19, 1777, antiquities ("urna di porfirio, due sedie e un herme di baratto") from the Canons of the Lateran; November 22, 1777, the Endymion and the Niobid, from Cardinal Casali; January 24, 1778, two very valuable urns found in the Vigna of S. Cesareo, from the Somaschi; and on February 18, 1778, a "larga urna" with the "Pastor bonus" in relief, from Pio Lazzarani.

⁴ CANCELLIERI, *De secret.*, IV., 1617 *seqq.*; REUMONT, III., 2, 777.

⁵ '*Diario di Pio VI.', June 30, July 10 and 28, 1779, *loc. cit.*

other building operations at the Lateran¹ and S. Maria Maggiore,² and on the Campo Marzo, were taken to the Vatican museum. Not content with this, the Pope, like other art-lovers of the time,³ had excavations made on his own account, near Civitavecchia, in 1777,⁴ in the March of Ancona,⁵ in Otricoli, from 1778 onwards, with particularly fruitful results,⁶ and at Palestrina⁷ and Subiaco⁸ in 1779. Various finds were made also in the course of the works in the Pontine Marshes.⁹

In the seventies an astounding number of statues were brought to light by the excavations at Tivoli, on the slopes of Monte Ripoli, in the ruins of the so-called Villa of Cassius, which, without doubt, belonged to some great personage of the time of Augustus, probably Maecenas. Here were found the Apollo Citharoedus, seven statues of Muses, and numerous busts of celebrated Greeks, which Pius VI. obtained, along with other pieces, for the small sum of 5,000 *scudi*. The only object to elude him was a statue of Bacchus, which was bought by Jenkins for 600 *scudi* and was resold to an English collector for 4,000 *scudi*.¹⁰

¹ **Ibid.*, July 17, August 11, and October 16, 1779, and May 3, 1780.

² **Ibid.*, April 15, 1778.

³ HAUTECŒUR, 73 *seqq.* Cf. also C. v. BILDT, *Die Ausgrabungen C. F. v. Fredenheims auf dem Forum Romanum 1788-9*, Rom, 1901, in which use is made of Fredenheim's travel-diary, now in the archives of the National Museum in Stockholm.

⁴ *'Diario di Pio VI.', April 19, 1777, March 28, and May 13, 1778, *loc. cit.*

⁵ **Ibid.*, November 5, 1777.

⁶ **Ibid.*, January 3, February 21, and May 23, 1778, March 25 and May 20, 1780.

⁷ **Ibid.*, July 11 and August 13, 1778.

⁸ **Ibid.*, August 15, 1778.

⁹ **Ibid.*, November 11, 1778, and April 28, 1779.

¹⁰ LANCIANI, *Gli scavi di Pio VI. nella Villa detta di Cassio* (Docum. inediti), in *Atti e memorie d. soc. Tiburt. di storia e d'arte*, II., Tivoli, 1922, 3 *seqq.* *Ibid.*, 67 *seqq.*, for the excavations undertaken at Pius VI.'s orders in other places in the neighbourhood of

Great interest was aroused by the discovery in 1780 in the Via Appia of the family tomb of the Scipios, which was of great historical interest as well as artistic importance. Thanks to the efforts of the Pope the peperino sarcophagus of Lucius Cornelius Scipio, the conqueror of the Samnites in 301 B.C., whose inscription in Saturnian metre is one of the earliest linguistic monuments of Rome, finally found its way to the Vatican museum, together with the portrait-bust adorned with laurels which surmounted the tomb, and the inscriptions of other members of the family.¹ Even by 1782 it was reckoned that the number of antique objects in the museum had been more than doubled.² In the years that followed they were still further increased, especially in 1783, by the finds from Anzio.³ Fresh acquisitions by the Pope, which now ran into hundreds, were continually being reported in the Roman newspaper *Cracas*.

The rooms of the museum, which had been fitted up by Michelangelo Simonetti under Clement XIV., were no longer sufficient to contain such an abundance of treasures. Pius VI. had already decided in May, 1776, to extend them on a grand scale.⁴ The Galleria delle Statue was enlarged, and with the inclusion of the Belvedere as far as the Vatican Library a new museum was created that had no rival anywhere.⁵ The outward

Tivoli. For all these works, *cf.* also the ‘*Diario di Pio VI.’, March 22, 1775, February 9, May 15 and 29, 1779, *loc. cit.*

¹ Lucchese report, *loc. cit.*, 413; HELBIG, I.³, 77 *seqq.*; HAUTECŒUR, 68.

² MEYER, *Darstellungen aus Italien*, 117.

³ Brunati says in his *report of April 12, 1783, that “una miniera per così dire di statue de’ più insigni scultori” had been found there. “Questa fortunata scoperta accrescerà più pregio al museo Clementino,” which was now to be called the Museo Pio (State Archives, Vienna).

⁴ ‘*Diario di Pio VI.’, May 10, 1776, *loc. cit.*

⁵ LETAROUILLY, *Le Vatican éd. Simil*, II., Paris, 1882, plates 1-25. The decoration of Clement XIV.’s Galleria delle Statue by Pius VI. was carried out in 1775 (*ibid.*, 14 *seqq.*) and 1778 (FORCELLA, VI., 188), its completion in 1780 (LETAROUILLY, pl. 12).

simplicity of the buildings is in striking contrast to the marble decoration within, which is unusually rich, even for Rome. Composed for the most part of ancient remains, it provides an harmonious setting for the treasures exhibited and offers no impediment whatever to their careful examination and appreciation.¹

In the middle of the eighties the entrance was moved to the end of the ramp ² which rises gently between the Papal garden and the side wing of the Vatican library. From the vestibule a pillared staircase leads to the left to the Sala a Croce Greca, so called from its having been built by Simonetti in the form of a Greek cross. At the entrance are two sphinxes of Egyptian granite, from the villa of Julius III. The floor is inlaid with a mosaic of wonderfully harmonious colours, found in a Roman villa between the ancient Tusculum and the present Villa Rufinella.³ Here Pius VI. had the huge porphyry sarcophagus of St. Helena and Constantia, daughter of Constantine the Great, tastefully imposed on lions of white marble.⁴

The same year saw the building of the Sala a Croce Greca and the Sala Rotonda (*ibid.*, 6, 8). According to the inscription the Sala delle Muse was built in the seventh year of the pontificate, 1782 (*ibid.*, 10), as was also the Sala degli Animali (*ibid.*, 11). The entrance to the museum is dated 1784 (FORCELLA, VI., 193). The upper corridor was also fitted up for museum purposes (*Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th series, XX., 413); the Cancelli of the Galleria dei Candelabri dates from 1788 (FORCELLA, VI., 196). The Sala della Biga was still incomplete in 1792 (PASQUALE MASSI, *Indicazione antiquaria del Pontificio Museo Pio-Clementino in Vaticano*, Roma, 1792, 129). During the building of the museum many of the statues were removed from their former places, as related by Tischbein (*Aus meinem Leben*, ed. Brieger, 138).

¹ PLATNER, I., 263; PISTOLESI, *Il Vaticano*, IV., Roma, 1829, 159; BLUME, *Iter*, III., 118. For the museum buildings, see also HAUTECEUR, 130.

² J. VASI, *Itinéraire de Rome*, II., éd. par M. Vasi, Roma, 1786, 570.

³ *Corresp. des Direct.*, XIII., 249; HELBIG, I.³, 207.

⁴ Lucchese reports in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th series, XX., 416, 438; *Bollett. d'archeol. crist.*, XXVII. (1922), 24 seqq.

The visitor is now faced with a large door, the jambs of which are composed of fragments of red granite from the baths of Nero. This leads to a room where an inscription on the frieze, "Museum Pium," indicates that this is the collection proper of the antiquities acquired by the Braschi Pope. On either side are representations in the Egyptian style of Antinous, from the Tiburtine villa of Hadrian, presented by the town of Tivoli.¹ We then enter the monumental Sala Rotonda, also built by the talented Simonetti on the model of the Pantheon and intended for the exhibition of the colossal figures and large busts. Here, too, the floor is covered with ancient mosaics, including those found in the baths at Otricoli in 1780; the famous bust of Zeus was found there, too, at the same time.² Next to this brilliant work of ancient sculpture in the Sala Rotonda were displayed the imposing busts of the emperor Hadrian from the Castel S. Angelo and those of the emperor Claudius, Antinous, Jupiter Serapis, the elder Faustina, Julia Domna, wife of Septimius Severus, and Trajan's wife, Plotina.³ In February 1792 there was placed in the middle of the room the huge ornamental basin, made of a single piece of porphyry, brought to the Vatican by Clement XI. from the villa of Julius III.⁴ In large niches are the colossal statues of Ceres, from the Cancelleria, the Barberini Juno, the Juno Sospita, from the Palazzo Paganica, and the emperor Nerva.⁵ The capitals of the marble pilasters between the niches show parts of the arms of Pius VI.

From the Sala Rotonda an anteroom, by the entrance door of which stand antique busts of Tragoedia and Comoedia, leads to another domed rotunda, the Sala delle Muse, whose floor is also inlaid with antique mosaics. The octagonal ceiling is borne by eighteen columns of Carrara marble, most of them from Hadrian's Tiburtine villa. Next to the busts of Zeno,

¹ 'Diario di Pio VI.', December 25, 1779, *loc. cit.*; HELBIG, I.³, 202.

² HELBIG, I.³, 187 *seqq.*

³ MASSI, 118 *seqq.*, 181 *seq.*

⁴ Lucchese report, *loc. cit.*, 438.

⁵ MASSI, 120 *seqq.*

Socrates, Epicurus, Æschines, Demosthenes, Alcibiades, Sophocles, Pericles, and Aspasia, the chief attraction is a series of statues of the muses, led by Apollo in the festive garb of a Citharædus.¹ To these Muses refer the frescoes in the dome, painted by Tommaso Conca at the request of Pius VI.² The Apollo and seven of the Muses come from the so-called Villa of Cassius, to the south-east of Tivoli. To complete the number of the nine sisters two female statues were added to them; these had been presented to the Pope by Prince Lancelotti and were given the attributes of Muses.³

Connexion with Clement XIV.'s statue gallery and the Belvedere is afforded by the Sala degli Animali, divided into three sections by granite columns and filled with statues, reliefs, sarcophagi, marble tables, and numerous life-like figures of animals. In the middle section are two colossal groups of the Ptolemaic period, representing the Nile and the Tiber; by the back wall of the right section, facing south, is the statue of Meleager, bought by Clement XIV., with a pedestal decorated with the arms of Pius VI.⁴

From the left (north) section of the Sala degli Animali a door leads to Clement XIV.'s statue gallery, which Pius considerably prolonged with the rooms for the busts and had decorated with frescoes by Christoph Unterberger, a pupil of Raffael Mengs, who died in 1779.⁵ These pictures in the lunettes are scenes

¹ *Ibid.*, 106 *seqq.*, 182 *seq.* The mosaics which were to embellish the floor of the museum were selected at the end of 1780 (*v.* ' *Diario di Pio VI.', December 2, 1780, *loc. cit.*).

² MASSI, 107 *seqq.*; THIEME, VII., 288 *seq.*

³ HELBIG, I.³, 167 *seqq.*, 169, 171 *seq.* The statue of Meleager (*ibid.*, 79 *seqq.*), which was afterwards taken to one of the ante-rooms of the Belvedere, has been returned to its original position.

⁴ MASSI, 189-199. The Nile was taken to the Braccio Nuovo, the Tiber to the Louvre in Paris.

⁵ Chr. Unterberger was also prominently active in the renovation of the Villa Borghese. He painted the altar-screen in the chapel of the Madonna del Buon Consiglio (completed in 1790), in S. Nicola da Tolentino, and in May, 1793, commissioned by some Roman citizens, he designed a monument for Pius VI. but this was never

from the life of Pius VI.¹ The decoration is completed by the arms of Clement XIV. and Pius VI., by Franzoni, with putti by Sibilla.² The statue gallery contained some of the best-known antiquities, such as the so-called Eros of Praxiteles, the magnificent marine centaur, the Amazon from the Villa Mattei, the Paris from the Palazzo Altemps, the portrait statues of Poseidippus and another Greek playwright, and the statue of Lucius Verus. The figure of the sleeping Ariadne, known as Cleopatra, was placed here by Pius VI. on account of the better light. A recess at the end of the gallery of the busts was allotted to the Jupiter enthroned from the Palazzo Verospi, the acquisition of which by Braschi, under Clement XIV., had supplied the stimulus for the creation of the new museum.³

Adjacent to the statue gallery is the Gabinetto delle Maschere, built by Pius VI. and so called from the mosaic floor found in 1780 in Hadrian's Tiburtine villa. Embellished with eight columns of alabaster, it contains some splendid antiques acquired by Pius VI.: the Venus cowering in the bath, which was found in the Via Prenestina in 1760, and the statue of a nymph, which was described as a dancer and was brought to Rome in 1788. Goethe thought of buying the latter piece but was dissuaded by Angelica Kauffmann. The second statue of Venus here, the satyr of *rosso antico*, and the statue of Apollo found at Centocelle, were also acquired by Pius VI.⁴ The oil-paintings by Domenico de Angelis on the ceilings are related to the figures of Venus exhibited here; the central picture shows the finding of Ariadne by Bacchus.⁵ Numerous antiques

executed. The invasion of the French reduced him to beggary. He died on January 25, 1798. NOACK, 422; *Allg. deutsche Biogr.*, XXXXII, 317 *seqq.*

¹ MASSI, 44; *ibid.*, 53, for Unterberger's chiaroscuro in the Gallery of Busts.

² *Ibid.*, 98.

³ *Ibid.*, 62.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 88 *seqq.*; HELBIG, I.³, 158 *seqq.*

⁵ MASSI, 87.

and inscriptions were placed in the adjoining Loggia Scoperta,¹ which affords a glorious view of the Roman environs.

Returning to the Sala degli Animali, the visitor now enters the Cortile del Belvedere, which was given its present appearance by Simonetti. He added the inner colonnade, decorated the arcades with colossal masks and reliefs, set up a fountain in the centre, and placed in the recesses the pieces famous in the first period of enthusiasm for the antique: the Apollo, the Laocoon, and the Hermes, then known as Antinous. Place was found here also for the Niobid and the Endymion sarcophagus which Cardinal Casali had presented to the Pope.² The ceilings were decorated by Christoph Unterberger.³ In the anteroom, divided by arcades into three atria, were placed the torso of Hercules which had been so much admired by Michelangelo and the massive sarcophagus of the Scipios.⁴

To accommodate the fresh acquisitions that were continually being made further museum-rooms had to be made on the upper floor. One of these was a domed room, approached by a fine double flight of stairs designed by Simonetti and embellished with twenty columns from Preneste and Tivoli.⁵

¹ *Ibid.*, 68 *seqq.*

² *Ibid.*, 22 *seqq.*, 199 *seqq.*

³ *Ibid.*, 21, 34. ‘*Diario di Pio VI.’, March 29, 1780, *loc. cit.*

⁴ MASSI, 14 *seqq.*; *ibid.*, 16, for Unterberger’s work in the Vestibolo quadrato (*cf.* LETAROUILLY, 21), and MASSI, 18 *seqq.*, for the chiaroscuro in the Vestibolo Rotondo. *Cf.* NOACK, 87, 363.

⁵ ‘*Diario di Pio VI.’, August 16, 1779, *loc. cit.*: “Ne’ scorsi giorni si portò dalla Santità di Nostro Signore il Signore Michelangelo Simonetti Architetto del Museo Clementino al Vaticano, ad umiliarli il modello della scala, che dovrà servire d’ingresso in quell’ edificio; come altresì nell’ adiacente Biblioteca che del tutto fu approvato dalla Santità Sua. In seguito per render maggiormente ornata essa scala si stabilì fare l’acquisto in Tivoli delli due pregievoli colossali idoli Egiziani di ragione de quella Communità per collocarli all’ ingresso della medesima.” On October 20, 1779, the ‘Diario’ *records the arrival of these “idoli” and the granite columns from Praeneste, and on October 30 the transportation of the remaining granite columns from Praeneste and six more from Tivoli.

The domed room, which was built by Giuseppe Cremonese,¹ took its name, Sala della Biga, from the marble chariot-seat which was used as a bishop's throne in the basilica of S. Marco and was restored by Franzoni in 1788. Four recesses in the room were intended to receive antique statues; some of Pius VI.'s later acquisitions were placed here: the chariot-driver from the Villa Montalto and the two discoboli, both based on famous Greek originals; one, in the style of Myron, was found in 1781 in the Villa Adriana, the other in 1792 by Hamilton beneath the ruins of an antique villa on the Via Appia.²

Leaving the Sala della Biga we turn to the right along a passage 90 yards long, which was once open on both sides and which Simonetti, at Pius VI.'s request, enclosed, provided with windows, and divided into five sections in 1785.³ Sculptures of the most various kinds were exhibited here, whence came the subsequent name, Galleria delle Miscellanee. The next three rooms are called after their contents, the Galleria de' Vasi e Candelabri.⁴ The name refers to the decorative pieces of applied art published by the younger Francesco Piranesi in 1785. In this gallery one could admire not only the famous Barberini candelabrum but also the town goddess of Antioch and the Ganymede of Leochares.⁵

The highest credit is due to Pius VI. for making his collection accessible to the world of learning. At his instigation the commissioner of antiquities, Giambattista Visconti, began the compilation of a sumptuous work in which the antiquities of

¹ MASSI, 188 *seqq.* For Giuseppe Cremonese, who also executed the Atrio of the museum and the magnificent doors leading to the Sala Rotonda, in which room he superintended the setting up of the porphyry basin, *v.* FR. GASPARONI, *Prose*, Roma, 1841, 25 *seqq.*

² HELBIG, I.³, 210, 213 *seq.*, 215, 216.

³ Lucchese report in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th series, XX., 413; PLATNER, II., 2, 245.

⁴ PLATNER, II., 2, 278.

⁵ MASSI, 139 *seqq.* For Piranesi's album, *v.* HAUTECŒUR, 77.

the Vatican museum were illustrated and described in detail.¹ The first volume, published in 1782, was dedicated to the sixth Pius, "the patron of art," and contained a splendid portrait of the Pope by Marco Carlone. On Giambattista Visconti's death in the autumn of 1784 he was succeeded as commissioner of antiquities and as the editor of the aforesaid work by his son Ennio Quirini. To this latter task Ennio devoted himself untiringly, publishing the second volume in 1784, the third in 1788, the fourth in 1790, the fifth in 1792, and the sixth in 1796. The success of this *édition de luxe* was well deserved, spreading the fame of the Vatican collection throughout Europe. The museum seemed to contemporaries to be an ideal one and gave rise to the plan of inaugurating a similar collection in Paris.²

The treasures of the Museum Pio-Clementinum were praised by many writers,³ but like all great undertakings Pius VI.'s collection of antiquities had its unintelligent critics. One can hardly believe one's eyes when one reads in a report of September 27th, 1786, from the Austrian agent Brunati to Colloredo that the hundreds of thousands of *scudi* which had been spent on the collection were so much money thrown away. Brunati strongly disapproved of the building, with its many superfluous and ugly galleries, rotundas, and cabinets, with their jumble of antique monuments and statues, and he sneered at Pius VI.'s persistence in adding to them, while the best pieces were leaving the country. Why another new building, concluded this art-connoisseur, when there must be any number of long galleries in such a great building as the Vatican? ⁴ But such judgments as this were exceptional;

¹ VISCONTI, *Descrizione del Museo Pio-Clementino*, Roma, 1784-1796, in 6 folio vols.

² Lucchese report, *loc. cit.*, 413. In March, 1790, E. Q. Visconti was also made a director of the Capitoline Museum (*v. ibid.*, 436).

³ HAUTECEUR, 69.

⁴ " *Il Museo Clementino nel palazzo Vaticano per l' aggiunta di tante superflue e deformi gallerie, rotonde e cameroni, ne' quali sono confusamente ammonticati ogni sorta di monumenti e statue antiche, che Pio VI. va ogni giorno acquistando (cioè tutti

even Pius VI.'s enemies acknowledge the services he had rendered in forming the museum.¹ In actual fact the city of Rome owes to him its preservation of many glorious monuments of antiquity which would otherwise have been sold to foreigners.² The Pope deserved not blame but great praise for having followed the trail blazed by his predecessors, Clement XII., Benedict XIV., Clement XIII., and Clement XIV., and for having insisted on saving the masterpieces of ancient art from falling into private hands, which might have hidden them away or ruined them. Instead of this he made them accessible to everyone. To appreciate his services to the full we must remember that the famous philosopher of Sanssouci never thought that his works of art might be of importance to his fellow countrymen. Frederick II. used the rich collections he acquired to beautify his retreat at Sanssouci, and as late as 1770 he had the antique treasures in the Cabinet of Art in Berlin brought to the so-called Temple of Antiquity, the little garden pavilion in the park by the New Palace in Potsdam. This pavilion had been built especially for this purpose, but here the objects were neither well nor safely kept, they were almost entirely invisible, and there was no possibility of putting them to good use.³

Pius VI. was also blamed for being so vainglorious as to have affixed to most of the statues he had bought the inscription "*ex munificentia Pii VI.*"⁴ But this had been done by his predecessors, including the modest Benedict XIV. There

scarti, permettendo che il meglio si compri e si trasporti dai forestieri) forma un' altra partita di centinaia di migliaia di scudi buttati principalmente in fabbriche." State Archives, Vienna.

¹ [BOURGOING-AZARA], I, 96.

² PLATNER, II., 2, 118; MICHAELIS in the *Zeitschr. f. bild. Kunst*, 1879, 105.

³ It was not till 1798 that the old Cabinet of Art in Berlin was set to rights again. Cf. MICHAELIS, *Gesch. der archäol. Entdeckungen*, Leipzig, 1906, 11.

⁴ [BOURGOING-AZARA], 96 *seq.* This inscription is to be seen on many statues in the Vatican Museum, including the "*Venere al bagno*"!

was more apparent justification for another charge brought against him: that he paid too little attention to the precarious state of his finances. If the Papal expenditure on cultural objects was to be dependent on these considerations St. Peter's itself and Raphael's Stanze and Logge would probably never have been built.¹ Pius VI. did not allow himself to be deterred by such charges, which really might have been brought against the artistic patronage of any Pope. He was as eager as ever to extend his museum.

The number of natives as well as foreigners who thronged to see the treasures assembled here was said by the representative of the republic of Lucca, at Easter, 1786, to be something quite extraordinary. On this occasion he listed the antiques that had recently been rearranged for exhibition by Giovanni Pierantoni.² In autumn the envoy reported the purchase of a slab of *rosso antico*, from which tables were to be made for the library and museum.³ The Pope was still giving orders for new excavations to be made, such as in the garden of the Ospedale di S. Giovanni, whence in March, 1787, the busts of Lucius Verus, an Isis, and a Hercules were brought to the museum. About this time the contents of the museum were being increased by the acquisition of many objects from other quarters. Prince Doria, for instance, presented a Diana, and the diggings in the Villa Montalto produced a bust of Diocletian.⁴ In April already the envoy was writing of still further increases. In November 1788 he wrote of the energetic labours of Pierantoni as a restorer of antiques. Alongside him the sculptor Franzoni was engaged in a similar work. The Pope often visited Piranesi, Pacetti, and other artists in their studios,⁵ and when paying one of these visits to Franzoni in

¹ VOGEL, 85. The income of the "Lotto" was used extensively to defray the expenditure on the museum. The relevant *documents kept in the State Archives in Rome are to be published by Mgr. Legrelle.

² *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th series, XX., 416 seq.

³ *Ibid.*, 419.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 423.

⁵ Brunati's *report of October 27, 1784, State Archives, Vienna.

November 1789 he presented him with a gold snuff-box. It was at this time that the decision was made to move to the Vatican museum the base of the column of Antoninus Pius that was still standing on Monte Citorio.¹ In 1790 Pierantoni made the Pope's portrait in relief for the museum, the metal decoration being left to Valadier.² The excavations which were continued at Tivoli in Count Fede's villa yielded further additions to the museum in November, 1790, among them being fine busts of Antinous and Marcus Aurelius. At the beginning of 1792 Pierantoni completed the restoration of the massive porphyry basin destined for the Sala Rotonda.³

Visconti's sumptuous publication on the Museum Pio-Clementinum was intended for scholars, and its arrangement according to materials and its bulky format made it unsuitable as a handbook. The want was made good in 1792 by a fellow-countryman of Pius VI.'s, Pasquale Massi, the keeper of the museum. With this work in front of us we can follow exactly the arrangement of the exhibits as it was at that time, and as it supplies details of the acquisition of every object the guide is also a history of the museum. Only a dozen or so antiques were acquired by Julius II. and his successors, a hundred odd by Clement XIV., and nearly six hundred by Pius VI. Massi therefore had good right to state in his preface that to Pius was due the honour of being the real creator of the museum.⁴ It was one of Rome's greatest attractions and was famous throughout Europe. As stated by Tischbein,⁵ the artist could learn more here than anywhere else. No foreigner coming to the Eternal City omitted to visit the museum, which was open to all without distinction ⁶ and where at last the antiques were

¹ *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th series, XX., 423 seq., 428, 434.

² *Ibid.*, 437.

³ *Ibid.*, 438, 439.

⁴ MASSI, 2. The exact figures are 141 from Clement XIV. and (until 1782) 588 from Pius VI. The figure 300 given by HAUTECŒUR (67) is far too low.

⁵ TISCHBEIN, *Aus meinem Leben*, 126.

⁶ According to TAVANTI, II., 15, the museum was opened to the general public in 1787.

no longer used merely for the embellishment of private grounds but were there for their own sake and for the satisfaction of all who wanted to enjoy and study them.

The peace that reigned in Italy and the growing interest in antiquity resulted in the number of visitors to Rome increasing year by year. Almost all over Europe, among the educated and upper classes, it became more and more the fashion to travel in Italy, and above all to Rome, the heart of antiquity and the nursery of true art. Those coming from the cramped conditions of the frigid North seemed to be entering an earthly paradise. What other capital had so many attractions? The mild climate, combined with the natural charms of the South, the vast ruins of a mighty past, the incomparable treasures of art in the churches and palaces, the theatres and concerts, the unsophisticated popular amusements, especially in carnival time—all this drew countless numbers of visitors. Another magnet was the grand church festivals that culminated in the impressive solemnities of Easter week. In addition, there were such special ceremonies as the cardinalitial nominations and the state entries of the ambassadors. The great freedom of movement was keenly appreciated by every stranger; even towards those of other faiths, provided that they offered no scandal to religion and kept away from politics, the Papal Government showed a tolerance that surprised the northern Protestants all the more because it contrasted so sharply with the narrowmindedness of their own countries. A Protestant cleric of so high a rank as Herder was given a friendly welcome in 1788–9 not only by such a man of the world as Cardinal Bernis but also by the Cardinal Secretary of State. Monsignor Borgia, who was made a Cardinal in March, 1789, even called on Herder in his “red stockings” and entertained him in the most hospitable manner at his family seat at Velletri, which housed the famous Egyptian collection.¹

Strangers to Rome could also enjoy the society of the

¹ *Herders Reise nach Italien*, ed. by H. DÜNTZER, Giessen, 1859, 116 seqq., 159, 175. For the Museo Borgiano, see above, p. 53, and *Kunstblatt*, 1822, no. 36, and *Doc. p. i Musei d'Italia*, II., Roma, 1879, 395 seqq.

leading circles without much difficulty, either as guests of the poetic academy "Arcadia" or at the receptions given by the aristocratic families, the so-called *Conversazioni*.¹ Most visitors, however, had little time for such distractions. The ruins, churches, and collections offered an inexhaustible wealth of interesting and beautiful objects. At this period, however, Rome lost two of its collections: in 1775 the precious antiques in the Villa Medici were taken to Florence and in 1787 the art-treasures of the Palazzo Farnese went to Naples, despite the Pope's displeasure.² But what was this loss as against the wealth of antiques proffered by the palaces of the Altieri, Chigi, Colonna, and Spada, the villas of the Ludovisi, Borghese, Pamfili, and Albani, and the Capitol? And to all this was added Pius VI.'s museum in the Vatican.

There now appeared better and more practical publications in the principal European languages to introduce visitors to the art-treasures of the city.³ Formerly also there had been a great lack of guides, but there were now so many strangers that it was possible to earn a living in showing them the sights, though the tourist traffic died off in the summer. Among the large number of *ciceroni* there were some who could claim to be scholars. Of these there were two Germans who came into contact with Goethe: Johann Friedrich Reiffenstein and Alois Hirt. Reiffenstein, a pupil of Winckelmann's, was in especially good repute with the Russian visitors to Rome. Hirt, who was afterwards professor of archæology at Berlin University, organized conducted tours; each course, which included visits to studios and art-dealers, lasted a month and occupied five hours a day, from 9 a.m. to 2 p.m.⁴

¹ NOACK, 60 *seq.*, 123.

² DE NAVENNE, *Palais Farnèse*, II., 83 *seqq.* How much the Pope regretted the removal of the statues to Naples is related in Brunati's *report of July 8, 1787 (State Archives, Vienna).

³ HAUTECŒUR, 225. For the German works, see NOACK, 90 *seqq.*, for the Dutch, see *h. Nederlandsch Hist. Instituut te Rome*, Den Haag, 1924, 270 *seqq.*

⁴ VOGEL, 237 *seqq.*, 318. For Reiffenstein, *cf.* HAGEN in the *Altpreuss. Monatsschrift*, II. (1865), 506-536.

In Pius VI.'s time there was formed the custom of inspecting the antique statues in the Museum Pio-Clementinum and the Capitol by the light of wax torches. In this way each piece could be examined separately, cut off from all the others, down to the last detail. Another advantage of this method of examination was that the pieces occupying less favourable positions now came into their own. "The Laocoon, for instance, in the recess where it stood, could only be seen properly by torchlight, as ordinarily it had no direct light but only a reflection from the small round colonnaded court of the Belvedere. It was the same with the Apollo and the so-called Antinous. Torchlight was more necessary still to appreciate the merits of the Nile and the Meleager. No other antique is seen to such advantage by torchlight as the so-called Phocion, for it is only thus that one can see the wonderfully delicate members shining through the simple drapery. Beautiful, too, is the excellent torso of a seated Bacchus, also the upper part of a statue of Bacchus with a lovely head" (the writer is speaking of a youthful Dionysus, now in the Sala della Biga, which had already excited the admiration of Raffael Mengs); then "the half-length figure of a Triton" (which had formerly been associated with Scopas, in the Galleria delle Statue) "and above all, that miracle of art, the famous torso, that can never be praised enough".¹

There was now better provision also for the physical needs of the visitors. Almost all the hotels, *trattorie*, and cafés were in or around the Piazza di Spagna, which had already become the centre of the strangers' quarter. In the streets running thence to the Corso, the Via Condotti and the Via della Croce, lay most of the hotels and restaurants, among them the famous restaurant "Alla Bascaccia" (Via Condotti 9-10). The Via della Croce then consisted almost entirely of hotels, the most fashionable being the Locanda Damont (Nos. 68-9).² The

¹ Heinrich Meyer in Goethe's *Italienische Reise* (ed. Schuchardt, I., 477).

² NOACK, 52 *seqq.*, 365, 370. For the hotels in Rome at this period, cf. also SILVAGNI, 218, and CERESOLI in *Studi e docum.*,

cafés, too, which had formerly been of a very modest character, and many of the shops, could now vie with those of Paris; they were embellished with windows and mirrors from Bohemia.¹ The Caffé Inglese, at the corner of the Piazza di Spagna and the Via delle Carrozze, on the site now occupied by Spithoever's bookshop, had wall-paintings in the Egyptian style, from designs by Piranesi. The clientèle here was predominantly English, whereas the Caffé Greco in the Via Condotti was the rendezvous of the German colony of artists, who, like the Flemish *Bentvögel* of former times, played an important rôle in the artistic life of the Eternal City.² The German artists were wholly under the influence of Winckelmann and Mengs, whose passionate love of Rome had drawn them over the Alps. Consequently, their studies were centred exclusively on the antique, Raphael, and Mengs.³

On Mengs' return from Spain in 1777 the Pope honoured him with a commission which would have been eagerly accepted by the greatest artists of former times—the painting of a large altarpiece for St. Peter's, depicting the handing of the keys to the Prince of the Apostles. Mengs expended all his energy on this commission, but only the cartoon was completed. The artist's days were numbered; he died on the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, 1779, at the age of only fifty-one. The Spanish ambassador, Azara, and the Auditor Riminaldi, the latter acting on instructions from Pius VI., took charge of his estate, his children, and the perpetuation of his memory. Azara, who had held the artist in high esteem, published his works and had his bust set up in the Pantheon, while Riminaldi saw to the erection of a monument over his tomb in the Frisian

XIV., 399 seq. The practice, complained of by Ceresoli, of distinguishing the rooms by names instead of numbers, I found to be still in force at Terracina, in the Albergo Reale, in 1903.

¹ Report of April, 1788, in the *Corresp. des Direct.*, XV., 88.

² NOACK, 95 seqq.; *ibid.*, 366 for the rather high prices. Paris, however, was even dearer than Rome (*v. Corresp. des Direct.*, XIV., 151).

³ NOACK, 98 seqq.

church of S. Michele e Magno in Sassia.¹ An Annunciation which Mengs had painted for the royal chapel at Aranjuez was taken by the Pope to the Quirinal before it was sent to Spain.²

The decoration of the Vatican Museum was not the only employment given by the Pope to Mengs' pupil, Christoph Unterberger; he entrusted him also with the restoration of the then most famous painting of antiquity, the Aldobrandini Nuptials.³

The Viennese Anton Maron, Mengs' brother-in-law and pupil, resident in Rome since 1773, was director of the imperial art-school and occupied important positions in the Accademia di S. Luca. Besides portraits Maron painted altarpieces, one of them for the Chiesa dell' Anima.⁴

Philipp Hackert, the founder of the German school of landscape-painting in Rome, had settled there as early as 1768 and by his industry and skill had risen to a position of repute. He won the favourable attention of Pius VI. with a drawing of his home-town, Cesena, which the Pope had done in oils. Hackert's brother made a copper engraving of the picture and was allowed to dispose of it on his own account. Among Hackert's patrons were Duke Braschi's mother-in-law, the Princess Falconieri, and the Cardinal Secretary of State, Pallavicini.⁵

The following survey shows how the influx of German artists to Rome increased during the pontificate of Pius VI. The painters Füger and Mechau came in 1775, the sculptors

¹ *Ibid.*, 87 seqq., 363 seqq. Cf. GRÄVENITZ, 219, 221. The epitaph in FORCELLA, IV., 275.

² *Diario di Pio VI., August 14, 1797 (Campello Archives, Spoleto). As the picture was unfinished, it did not go to Spain but remained in Rome, where it was acquired in 1816 for the Imperial Gallery in the Belvedere in Vienna; v. WOERMANN in the *Zeitschr. f. bildende Kunst*, Neue Folge, V. (1894), 290 seqq.

³ HARNACK, 25.

⁴ NOACK, 413 seq.

⁵ Goethe's book on Phil. Hackert (1811); NOACK, 102; *Allg. Deutsche Biogr.*, X., 295 seqq.; HARNACK, 27.

Trippel and Zauner and the painter Bergler in 1776, the painters Rehberg and Bach in 1777, the painter and writer Friedrich Müller in 1778, the sculptor Schäffer in 1779, the painter Tischbein, widely known for his marvellous portrait of Goethe, and the sculptor Scheffhauer in 1780, Angelica Kauffmann in 1782, the painters Bury and Lips in 1783, the painters Johann Georg Schütz and Johann Heinrich Meyer in 1784, the sculptors Dannecker and Schadow and the painters Hetsch, Köck, and the two Genelli in 1785, and the painters Gessner and Gmelin in 1787.¹

The stipendiaries of the French academy of art, founded by Louis XIV., with its premises in the Palazzo Mancini, in the Corso, were more fortunately situated than the German artists, who received only very modest allowances from their Courts and academies.² The directors of the French institute were in the position to cut quite a figure in the social world and to entertain Cardinals and ambassadors in their apartments. The French artists enjoyed the uncommon advantage of having in their king's ambassador, Cardinal Bernis, a man of refinement who gave them appreciative support.³

The brilliant rise of French art at this period is connected with the activity of Jacques Louis David. David came to Rome in 1775 at the same time as his teacher, Vien, who had just been made the director of the Roman academy of art and who became its reorganizer.⁴ David remained five years in Rome. The change that came over him as the result of his study of the antique masterpieces was so complete that he compared it to a successful operation for cataract; it did not reach its full expression, however, till his return to Rome in the autumn of 1784. It was then that he produced a painting that immediately made him famous: "The Oath of the

¹ See the carefully compiled information in NOACK, 405 *seqq.* Cf. also *Allg. Deutsche Biogr.*, VIII., 566, XII., 320.

² NOACK, 98, 366.

³ HAUTECŒUR, 46.

⁴ A. LAPAUZE, *Hist. de l'Acad. de France à Rome*, I., Paris, 1924, 348 *seqq.*

Horatii." ¹ Seldom has a master enjoyed so striking a success. According to Tischbein's account there were regular processions to his studio near the Trinità dei Monti: princes and princesses, Cardinals and prelates, even simple citizens and workmen; even in the *osterie* the merit of the picture was disputed, and so hotly that sometimes knives were used to drive home the various opinions. The majority supported David, declaring that he had surpassed even Raphael. The aged Batoni, the learned Visconti, the art-connoisseur Azara, and all Winckelmann's pupils expressed their praise of David in the most enthusiastic terms. ²

Wieland was right in calling "The Oath of the Horatii" the picture of the century, for it meant a complete break with all the traditions of the rococo and the decisive victory of classicism. The enthusiasm was equally great in Paris. From now on it was taken for granted that masterpieces of art could only be produced on Roman soil. The French bursars of the Roman academy also followed the course marked out by David. ³ As Ménageot, the director of the academy, reported to Paris at the beginning of 1788, they could make the fullest possible use of the treasures in the Museum Pio-Clementinum as it was open to them at any time. ⁴ The Pope was also very generous in giving permission for the taking of plaster casts. ⁵

What David had done for painting was done for sculpture by a contemporary of his, the young Italian Antonio Canova, who freed it from unnatural formalism and gave it a classicist direction.

Canova had come to Rome in 1779, at the age of twenty-two, to study the masterpieces of antiquity. The Venetian ambassador Zulian provided him with a studio in the Palazzo di

¹ SAUNIER, *L. David*, Paris, no date, 28 seqq.; L. ROSENTHAL, *L. David*, Paris, no date, 32 seqq.; HILDEBRANDT, *Die Malerei und Plastik des 18. Jahrh. in Frankreich*, 185.

² TISCHBEIN, *Aus meinem Leben*, 212 seq. Cf. VOGEL, 92 seqq.

³ HARNACK, 34 seq., 74 seq.

⁴ *Corresp. des Direct.*, XV., 88, 223.

⁵ *Ibid.*, XIV., 46, 182, 233, 238, XV., 238, XVI., 69.

Venezia. Thanks to the devotedness of Monsignor Carlo Giorgi and the friendship of the engraver Giovanni Volpato, he was only twenty-five years old when he received his first important commission: Clement XIV.'s tomb in SS. Apostoli.¹ As the monument was a break-away from the rococo style it naturally aroused much opposition. Even before it was completed Pompeo Batoni, the aged and highly honoured portraitist, had said that Canova had plenty of talent but was on the wrong track. But there was far more approval than censure. Writers extolled Canova as sculpture's resuscitator. The opinion of Milizia, who was then highly esteemed as an art-critic, told greatly in his favour; he thought that no one else had come so near to the antique. The monument acquired an importance in the art of sculpture similar to David's "Horatii" in that of painting.²

This, the young artist's first great achievement, which was undeniably a most harmonious composition, immediately

¹ Cf. our account, vol. XXXVIII., 551. *Memorie di A. Canova scritte da Antonio d'Este e pubblic. p. c. di Aless. d'Este*, Firenze, 1864, 27 seqq.; HAUTECŒUR, 196 seq. Fr. Fortunati *reports on August 1, 1786: " *Si diede principio a mettere sopra il deposito di Clemente XIV." (Cod. Vat. 10, 730, Vatican Library). Cf. also AGNOLETTI, *Canova e l'arte sacra*, 8 seqq., 33 seqq. V. MALAMANI, *A. Canova*, Milano, no date, 27 seqq. *Brunati on March 14, 1787 (State Archives, Vienna). It was reported in the *Diario ordinario (Cracas)* for January 30, 1802 (No. 113) that on the Thursday evening, on instructions issued by Cardinal York, Clement XIV.'s corpse was conveyed to the Church of the Apostles by the Minister General of the Conventuals, Bonaventura Bartoli, and that this was done "privamente" to "evitare la spesa che occorre secondo il consueto nei trasporti dei Corpi dei Sommi Pontefici".

² *Memorie scritte da A. d'Este*, 51 seqq., 363; *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th series, XX., 424. MILIZIA, *Opere*, IX., 220; HARNACK, 37; HAUTECŒUR, 197; MUÑOZ, *Roma barocca*, 401 seqq. Brunati *writes in his letter to Colloredo of April 18, 1787 (*loc. cit.*) that the monument was admired by all the art-connoisseurs. Batoni died in February, 1787; " *ha lasciato molto comoda la sua famiglia," wrote Brunati on February 7, 1787 (*ibid.*).

brought him another commission which was an even greater honour. Abbondio Rezzonico and his brothers, the Cardinals Carlo and Gian Battista, entrusted him with the erection of a splendid tomb for Clement XIII. in St. Peter's.¹ Canova again produced a magnificent monument for a niche: the Pope, draped in a capacious *manto corale*, is shown sunk in prayer above the sarcophagus; near him, on the ground, is the triple crown.² The erection of the monument began in July, 1791.³ All Rome flocked to St. Peter's for its unveiling at the beginning of Holy Week, 1792.⁴ When Pius VI. inspected it he openly expressed his great satisfaction with it. A particularly pleasant surprise for him was the great likeness of the figure to the Clement he had known so well.⁵ On Maundy Thursday, when the basilica was lit by the famous fiery cross, the crowd was particularly large. Canova is said to have mingled with it in order to hear its opinion, for although

¹ Brunati's *letter of April 18, 1787, in which Canova is already mentioned as a "celebre scultore", "il quale sta ora interpretando un' altra più sontuosa e magnifica tomba nel tempio Vaticano di Clemente XIII. per la spesa di 27 mila scudi" (*ibid.*). For Clement XIII.'s tomb Canova received 22,000 *scudi* (*Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th series, XX., 440). For both monuments, *cf.* REUMONT, *Ganganelli*, 54. For Bracci's design for Clement XIII.'s tomb, *v.* DOMARUS, *Bracci*, 63 *seq.*

² See our account, vol. XXXVII, 359; MALAMANI, 36 *seqq.*, 38 *seqq.*; HAUTECŒUR, 199; ESCHER, 172; KNAPP, *Ital. Plastik* (1923), 130. A colossal plaster bust of Clement XIII., by Canova, with a melancholy expression, is in the Accademia di S. Luca.

³ "Si dette principio al deposito di Clemente XIII." Fr. Fortunati on July 9, 1791, in Cod. Vat. 10, 730, of the Vatican Library.

⁴ Account in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th series, XX., 439 *seqq.*, according to which Clement XIII.'s mortal remains were transferred to the tomb in April.

⁵ *Memorie scritte da A. d'Este*, 59 *seqq.*; MALAMANI, 36. Clement XIII.'s bust, executed with wonderful delicacy and reproduced in this work, together with the sketch for the angel of death, are now in the Museo di S. Pietro.

the writers extolled him as a second Phidias ¹ he did not imagine that his work was faultless. One might indeed have wished for a more harmonious composition and for a less richly embellished angel of death, but nothing could be done about the poor light that falls on the figure of Religion, which could only stand on the Pope's right.² Its stiffness, however, was certainly intended.³ Notwithstanding these imperfections Canova's tomb of Clement XIII. was a masterpiece ; it shows fine qualities, not only of technique but also of character. No finer lions have been produced by modern art, and the figure of Clement XIII. is unsurpassable, for as Cardinal Durini wrote in one of his poems,⁴ it reproduces the Pope's soul as well as his outward form in the most masterly fashion. No more characteristic attitude could have been found to describe the deep faith of this most pious man, who in the midst of a world in turmoil seeks consolation for his afflictions in prayer.

While the art-life of Rome was under the dominating influence of an Italian, Canova, and a Frenchman, David, the most celebrated German poet of the modern era, Goethe, also made his appearance there, without, however, attracting the attention of the Romans during his two lengthy visits. Already crowned with the poet's laurels, he was not entirely successful in preserving his incognito as a plain merchant, Philippo Möller of Leipzig, but he kept to it as strictly as he could, wanting to be quite free to follow his own bent. He avoided like the plague the *grand monde* and all its distractions. Even when the Cardinal Secretary of State intimated that he would like to make his acquaintance he sheered off. The only persons with whom he associated were the like-minded German artists Tischbein, Trippel, Hackert, and Angelica Kauffmann ; apart from this he devoted all his time to studying the relics of ancient Rome and the art-collections. Few have inspected

¹ MALAMANI, 36.

² HARNACK, II 3.

³ *Memorie scritte da A. d'Este*, 378, 381 seq.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 379.

so thoroughly and described in such glowing terms the Capitoline museum and Pius VI.'s collection of antiquities in the Vatican—"the museum" as he called it—which was then at the height of its development. In later years (1814, 1816, and 1829) the gifted author drew with the greatest care a picture of his time in Rome that was incomparable in many respects and still delights its readers. He penetrated more deeply than countless other writers into the soul of the city in which nothing is petty and everything seems to be great; many of his descriptions are among the gems of German literature.¹ But it must not be overlooked that Goethe's views on art were strongly biased and were overshadowed by his dislike of positive Christianity. *Roma sacra* remained as unattractive to the completely agnostic humanist and enthusiastic admirer of the antique as it did to Gibbon, who was here inspired to write his thoroughly un-Christian history of the decline of the Roman empire. Goethe admitted himself that "the original sin of Protestantism" was alive within him and that he was subject to its influence when he was passing judgment on the external manifestations of the Church. But as time passed, so great a genius could not entirely persist in his preconceptions. To a certain degree he underwent a change of attitude.² He admitted when writing afterwards of the Papal services in the Sistine Chapel, the majesty of which was heightened by the unequalled beauty of the setting and by the music: "The whole ceremony was extraordinarily grand and yet simple, and I am not surprised that strangers who come here in Easter Week, on which everything converges, can hardly contain

¹ Cf. CAMILLO V. KLENZE, *The Interpretation of Italy during the last two centuries*, Chicago, 1907, esp. 65 seqq., III seqq. For Goethe's relations with Italian writers v. LOCELLA, *Goethe und Italien*, in the report of the Freies Hochstift at Frankfurt, Neue Serie, VII., 28* seqq.

² This was noted by W. ROTHES in his *Goethe in Italien*, in the Wissenschaftl. Beilage of *Germania* (1904, No. 36). For Goethe's admission into the "Arcadia", cf. NOACK in the *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, 1904, 196-207, and ALFR. MONACI, *Memorie dell' elogio di Goethe in Arcadia*, in *Giorn. Arcadico*, Maggio, 1911, 129-133.

themselves." "The moment when the Pope, stripped of all his grandeur, steps down from his throne to adore the Cross, everyone else remaining in his place, when all are still and the choir intones '*Popule meus, quid feci tibi?*', is one of the finest of all the notable functions" . . . "in which everything is done with great good taste and perfect dignity." ¹

A similar impression was recorded by a Protestant canon, Friedrich Johann Lorenz Meyer, who visited Rome in 1783: "I was present at the Papal ceremonies on Ascension Day, Corpus Christi, and SS. Peter and Paul, and I confess that prepared as I was for what I saw they stirred me more than I had expected." ² He was particularly impressed by the Corpus Christi procession in the Piazza of St. Peter's. "The stone pavement was covered with white sand and was strewn with sprigs of laurel and myrtle, leaves, and flowers. The houses were hung with gaily coloured carpets. After the procession had begun to move, slowly and silently, the ringing of all the bells and the thunder of the cannon at the Castel S. Angelo suddenly announced the appearance of the Head of the Church, who at this moment was borne out through the great door of St. Peter's. It is impossible to imagine the beauty of this group and the effect it has, even on the most disinterested spectator. The venerable and handsome old man was borne forward on a large litter covered with a rich cloth and resting on the shoulders of his halberdiers, while a canopy was held over him by a nobleman. The pace of the bearers was so slow and even that the Pope seemed to be floating through the air. He was leaning forward on an altar on which stood the Sacrament elevated in a case profusely framed in brilliants. Actually, the Pope is seated, but in this position, entirely enveloped as he is in a broad, white satin robe, embroidered

¹ *Italienische Reise*, ed. by Schuchardt, I., 556, 562 (written in 1829). Compare this with his earlier opinion, still prejudiced, given in his letter to Duke Karl August of Weimar, of April 2, 1788 (*Goethes Briefe*, II., 324, in Cotta's *Bibliothek der Weltliteratur*, 1902); SULGER-GEHING, *Das Stadtbild Roms zur Zeit Goethes*, in the *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, XVIII., Frankfurt, 1897, 218, 255.

² F. J. L. MEYER, *Darstellungen aus Italien*, Berlin, 1792, 201.

with golden crowns, that falls from his shoulders in undulating folds as far as the bearers and enfolds the whole of the bier and even the altar, he appears to be kneeling. All that one saw of him was his folded hands resting on the altar and his bared grey head. His lips moved in silent prayer and his eyes, directed upwards, seemed to be swimming in tears. His face expressed sublime and fervent prayer." Meyer considered it impossible to depict without emotion the universal and moving impression received by the people on this occasion. As soon as the cannon and the bells announced the appearance of the Pope and he was seen in the distance floating out of the great door, they fell to the ground as though struck by lightning and beat their breasts and then timidly raising their tear-filled eyes to the Pope approaching with the Sacrament, they followed him with looks of entrancement, as though he were a god, until he disappeared.¹

A still more powerful impression was made on Meyer by the illumination of Michelangelo's dome on the eve of the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, a sight which even Goethe extolled as unique and glorious, like some fantastic fairy-tale.² Meyer described it as the finest spectacle of the kind in the world, far exceeding the liveliest expectation and completely beggaring all description. "Michelangelo's majestic fane is best seen in all its glory from the moderate distance of the Ponte S. Angelo. Against the night sky a luminous temple floats into view. The whole front of the dome down to the church proper is hung with thousands of lamps in oiled paper. This illumination displays distinctly the architectural structure of the dome. The huge, magnificent structure appears in the air in luminous outline. This is the first scene of the glorious spectacle." The transition to the second stage of the illumination, which is on a larger scale and more dazzling, is rightly said by Meyer to be indescribably surprising. "It consists of large pitch-pans and torches fixed to the dome. The signal for the transformation is given by a bell, and at this moment

¹ *Loc. cit.*, 204 seqq.

² Goethe's *Italienische Reise*, ed. by Schuchardt, 392 seq.

a stream of fire pours over the dome. Hundreds of pitch-pans and torches begin to glow and their reflection encircles the dome like a halo. To effect this prodigious transformation some hundreds of workmen are waiting behind the closed windows of the dome for the signal of the bell. Directly they hear it they open the windows and set light to the pitch-pans. The amazing sight acts like a spell on the watching crowds in the vicinity and in the Piazza of St. Peter.”¹

Visitors of high and indeed the highest degree were drawn to Rome by its imposing church ceremonies and its choice treasures of art. The Eternal City, still maintaining its position as the centre of international culture, had probably never seen so many illustrious personages within its walls as in this pontificate. All felt themselves compensated for the hardships of the journey by the sights of Rome, by the reception that awaited them at the most imposing and most dignified court in the world, and by the brilliant festivities organized by the Roman aristocracy.

In the very first year of his reign Pius VI. was able to welcome a number of princes. On June 27th, 1775, Joseph II.'s brother, the Archduke Maximilian, arrived for a long stay; assuming the name of the Count of Burgau, he took up his residence in the Palazzo Cesarini with Count Herzan, who was Auditor of the Rota and the imperial *chargé d'affaires* for ecclesiastical matters. The Pope went to meet the archduke in the anteroom and assigned him a seat on the left of his throne. Cardinal Bernis gave a ball for Maximilian that went on till break of day. The most splendid of the festivities with which the Roman princes honoured their exalted guest was the one arranged by Prince Chigi. It began on the evening of July 16th with a firework display in the Piazza Colonna, which had been transformed into an amphitheatre lit with wax torches. Bands of musicians were stationed at the four corners of the square. This entertainment was followed by a reception, with a ball and supper, in the ancestral palace, which was brilliantly decorated. The painter Anton Maron

¹ MEYER, *loc. cit.*, 209 *seqq.*

acted as guide to the archduke. On July 10th the Pope had the dome and front of St. Peter's illuminated for him. Before he left on August 7th the Pope sent him a rosary embellished with brilliants and a cameo, also relics, an Agnus Dei, a gobelin, a mosaic picture, and a collection of engravings of ancient and modern buildings in Rome. The archduke in return presented the Papal dignitaries with diamond rings and valuable watches and snuff-boxes.¹ In the autumn of 1775 there was the visit of Prince Leopold of Brunswick, who was accompanied by Lessing when he was received in audience by the Pope.² In November the Margrave of Ansbach-Bayreuth, the heir to the throne of Brunswick, and several French nobles were staying in the Eternal City.³ On December 11th the brother of King George III. of England, William Henry, Duke of Gloucester, came for a long visit with his beautiful wife.⁴ On March 18th, 1776, the Archduchess Christine, Joseph II.'s sister, came with her husband, Duke Albrecht of Sachsen-Teschen. This art-loving couple were accompanied by Reiffenstein on their inspection of the sights of Rome but preserved their strict incognito even on their visit to the Vatican, though they accepted an invitation to a *soirée* at Cardinal Bernis'. On their way home they paid a second visit to the Pope, who decorated the archduchess with the Golden Rose.⁵

As etiquette was observed strictly at the Papal Court—Herder remarked that Rome was the university for this subject⁶—these royal visits put the ambassadors to considerable trouble. No little embarrassment was caused to the representative of France, Cardinal Bernis, by the appearance of one of the king's nieces, the Duchess of Chartres, who

¹ *Corresp. des Direct.*, XIII., 99, 108; *notes by Fr. Fortunati in Cod. Vat. 10, 730, of the Vatican Library; NOACK, 87.

² See above, p. 27.

³ *Corresp. des Direct.*, XIII., 166.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 150; *Lebensgesch. Pius' VI.*, I., 150 seq., 229 seqq.

⁵ *Corresp. des Direct.*, XIII., 198, 205 seqq.; *Lebensgesch. Pius' VI.*, I., 230 seq.; NOACK, 87.

⁶ Herder's *Reise nach Italien*, Giessen, 1859, 164.

arrived in Rome at the beginning of June, 1776, and stayed at the Palazzo Sciarra as the Countess of Joinville. Notwithstanding her strict incognito the Cardinal paid her the respect due to royalty. She could not be accorded a reception at the Vatican similar to that given to their Austrian Highnesses as there was not time enough to arrange the ceremonial due to a princess of the blood royal.¹ To the astonishment of the Romans, she showed no interest whatever in the wonders of the city.² Cardinal Bernis, whose duty it was to protect the interests of the Swedes in Rome, was also most attentive to the king of Sweden's brother, the Duke of Ost Gothland, who likewise came to Rome incognito in October 1776. Through the Cardinal he obtained an audience of the Pope, who, to his supreme satisfaction, paid him the same honour as he had done to the Duke of Gloucester.³

In January 1777 the Landgrave Friedrich of Hesse-Kassel and the Duchess of Kingston arrived in Rome. The landgrave being an ardent convert, the Pope was particularly generous in presenting him with relics.⁴ At the end of the year the city saw within its walls Prince August of Saxe-Gotha, the brother of the reigning duke, and the Duke and Duchess of Chabot.⁵ Prince Heinrich of Reuss received a most favourable impression of the Pope on his visit to Rome in 1779.⁶ It being announced at this time that the Governor-General of Milan, the Archduke Ferdinand, and his wife, Beatrice d' Este, would arrive in the coming Lent, Bernis remarked that it would be no easy matter to entertain their Highnesses at such a time ; he would do his best but these visits involved ambassadors in both trouble and

¹ *Corresp. des Direct.*, XIII., 213 seqq., 216, 221.

² " *Tutti le rarità di Roma erano per Lei mucchi di sassi," says Fr. Fortunati (Cod. Vat. 10,730, *loc. cit.*).

³ *Corresp. des Direct.*, XIII., 247, 249, 255, 259 seq., 280 seq. ; *notes by Fr. Fortunati, *loc. cit.*

⁴ *Lebensgesch. Pius' VI.*, I., 299 seqq. ; *Corresp. des Direct.*, XIII., 274, 277.

⁵ *Lebensgesch. Pius' VI.*, I., 302 ; *Corresp. des Direct.*, XIII., 378, 388.

⁶ See above, p. 27.

expense.¹ The archducal pair, who travelled as the Count and Countess of Mellenburg and stayed in the Villa Medici, made two visits to Rome in 1780, the first in January, the second in Lent. On this occasion, too, the incognito they assumed was no impediment to the holding of splendid festivities. On January 16th the Cardinal Secretary of State gave a dinner for sixty guests which was attended by the ambassadors. Among these the representatives of France, Malta, and Venice were particularly prominent in the lavishness of their entertainments. According to the account of an eye-witness, the public carnival that took place in the Palazzo di Venezia was probably the most brilliant that had ever been held in Europe. The Pope, who received the archduke on both his visits, paid him all the more attention as he hoped that his stay in Naples would have a favourable effect on his disputes with that Court.²

In the eighties the number of visitors to Rome grew so large that Bernis wrote that for eight months the Eternal City was the rendezvous of all Europe. Whereas hitherto the Germans and Austrians had preponderated, it was now the French who came in shoals, although only ten years before they had taken little interest in Rome.³ Bernis was continually complaining of the annoyance and expense caused him by this mania for travel. Nevertheless, as a perfect man of the world, he "kept open house in Europe's *rendez-vous* in France's name", as he put it.⁴

The practical Romans welcomed every traveller so long as he had money in his pocket. On the whole they preferred the placid German to the Frenchman, showing no hostility to the many German Protestants but rather pitying them in their

¹ *Corresp. des Direct.*, XIII., 461.

² *Fr. Fortunati, *loc. cit.*; *Lebensgesch. Pius' VI.*, II., 231 seqq.; *Corresp. des Direct.*, XIV., 2 seq.; DENGEL, *Palazzo di Venezia*, 133.

³ *Corresp. des Direct.*, XV., 88; HAUTECŒUR, 226.

⁴ *Corresp. des Direct.*, XIV., 275, 277 seq., 279, 284, 297, XV., 88; MASSON, 375 seqq.

lack of the true faith.¹ The Englishman they respected chiefly for his great wealth, which enabled the sons of Albion to purchase antiques on an extensive scale. Particularly large purchases were made by Lord Bristol, a fabulously wealthy eccentric about whom the strangest stories were told. Bristol, who, like the Scottish Bishop of Derry, chose Rome as his permanent place of residence, favoured artists among others, one of them being the Savoyard painter Giacomo Berger.² The English art-dealer Jenkins, whose hospitality Goethe enjoyed at Castel Gandolfo, had made his fortune as a money-changer and agent for his countrymen and he was now increasing it by trading in objects of art. Several of the English artists living in Rome made a name for themselves. Gavin Hamilton was well known for his excavations in Hadrian's Villa near Tivoli, the finds from which were moved either to the Museo Pio-Clementino or to England. Among the others were the sculptor John Flaxman, James Durno, who settled in Rome in 1774, and the sculptor Hewetson, who made a simple but attractive tomb in S. Nicolò in Carcere for Cardinal Rezzonico, Clement XIII.'s brother.³ The great majority of the English travellers, incidentally, cared little for art. If Dupaty is to be believed, their chief occupation was to travel around, drink tea and punch, and decry every nation but their own, which they extolled incessantly.⁴

According to Cardinal Bernis, most of the foreigners who flooded Rome at this time were lacking in artistic sense. These travellers, he said, who were such a nuisance to the ambassadors, were drawn to Italy by the fashion, not the desire, for self-instruction ; but the Romans, he continued, were well pleased to see a large part of Europe spending its money here every year.⁵ These travellers of fashion, many of whom evinced an admiration of the antique which was in inverse proportion to their knowledge, were industrious in buying

¹ NOACK, 104.

² HARNACK, 47 ; HAUTECŒUR, 226 *seq.*

³ HARNACK, 79 *seq.*

⁴ HAUTECŒUR, 231.

⁵ *Corresp. des Direct.*, XIV., 272.

medals, cameos, and other antiquities and thus helped to spread a taste for the artistic productions of antiquity and the Renaissance over the whole of Europe.¹ Almost all of them took away as souvenirs the splendid engravings by Piranesi and Volpato, and the more wealthy of them also had copies made of the more famous works of art. The outstanding example of this is the encaustic copies of Raphael's Logge made by Unterberger for the Hermitage at St. Petersburg at the order of Catherine the Great, which were personally inspected by Pius VI.² The empress also had purchases made of mosaics, paintings, and drawings by famous artists, such as Mengs,³ and had a large wooden model made of St. Peter's.

A similar interest in art was shown by the wife of the Russian Grand Duke Paul, Sophie Dorothea of Brunswick, who was an artist herself. She and her husband, travelling in Italy as the Countess and Count of Norden, reached Rome on February 5th, 1782. Their longing to see the marvels of art there was so great that they went straight to St. Peter's and then to the Pantheon and the Fontana Trevi before repairing to their hotel, the "Città di Londra", in the Piazza di Spagna. The next morning they went first to the Museo-Pio-Clementino, then to St. Peter's again. It being Pius VI.'s habit to pray at the tomb of the Apostles in the afternoon, an apparently fortuitous meeting was arranged between the exalted couple and the supreme head of the Church, to the great satisfaction of both parties. So soon as February 7th the Grand Duke and his wife, who were attended on their travels by a very large retinue, left for a fortnight's stay in Naples; on their return from there on February 23rd the Count and Countess of Norden, as they still styled themselves, were overloaded with attentions from the Pope and the

¹ HAUTECŒUR, 232. For the English travellers of the eighteenth century, cf. MICHAELIS in the *Zeitschr. f. bildende Kunst*, 1879, 66 seq.

² ' *Diario di Pio VI.', February 27, 1779, and August 30, 1780, Campello Archives, Spoleto; HARNACK, 25, 108.

³ ' *Diario di Pio VI.', August 23, September 20, and October 21, 1780, *loc. cit.*

Roman aristocracy. The Papal nephew Luigi Braschi and Cardinal Bernis offered them the most splendid entertainments that their resources could afford, but the greater part of their time was spent not in social activities but in visiting the monuments, churches, villas, libraries, and studios. It was then that Batoni's "Holy Family" was bought for 1,500 ducats. The Pope, choosing his gifts to suit the artistic proclivities of the noble visitors, presented them each with two mosaic pictures and gobelins and a collection of Piranesi's engravings, so that they could see Rome romantically transfigured. The Grand Duke, who had been received in audience several times by the Pope, was present in person at the latter's departure for Vienna on February 27th and helped His Holiness into his carriage, while the Grand Duchess covered his shoulders with a costly fur sent by the Empress Catherine.¹

The end of the year 1782 saw the arrival in Rome of the Duc de Chartres, Louis Philippe d'Orleans, whose wife had already visited the city in 1776. He travelled as the Comte de Joinville and stayed in Rome from December 7th to the 26th, making another short stay in the middle of January 1783. Thanks to Cardinal Bernis' dexterity and the Pope's complaisance all difficulties of ceremonial were overcome. The duke was granted a private audience of three-quarters of an hour by Pius VI., who received him with the utmost cordiality and for his benefit had the fiery cross lit in the basilica of St. Peter's, which was usually done only on Maundy Thursday and Good Friday. Cardinal Bernis, who had to keep open house for the prince and his retinue throughout his visit, was relieved when it came to an end. The craze for travelling had involved him in enormous expenses in 1782 and he was filled with anxiety for the future.²

¹ *Notes by Fr. Fortunati, *loc. cit.*; *Corresp. des Direct.*, XIV., 179, 185, 193; BECCATINI, II., 12 *seq.*; RINIERI in *Civ. catt.*, 1903, Quad. 1280, 150 *seqq.*; PIERLING, *La Russie*, V., 183 *seqq.* The inscription recording the visit to the dome of St. Peter's in FORCELLA, VI., 190.

² *Corresp. des Direct.*, XIV., 278, 288 *seq.*, 290 *seq.*, 297; MASSON, *Bernis*, 378.

Several other visits of highly placed personages took place in 1783 and aroused much interest. In February the Archduke Maximilian made another appearance incognito ; short as his visit was he had time to call twice on the Pope. Bernis remarked bitterly that although the emperor treated the Roman Curia unkindly its attachment to the ancient house of Austria was so strong that its princes were always well received here, especially as they lavishly distributed their courtesies and attentions on all and sundry.¹ The Elector Palatine Karl Theodor, who arrived in May and put up at the house of his agent, the Marchese Antici, in the Piazza Navona, made another stay in Rome on his way back from Naples, as did also Duke Maximilian.²

For Christmas, 1783, the Pope was expecting the King of Sweden, Gustavus III. This monarch, who displayed unusual talent, had shown so much goodwill towards the Catholics in Sweden, who until then had been hardly pressed, that on March 25th, 1780, the Pope sent him a cordial letter of thanks.³ In 1781 Gustavus issued an edict of tolerance for his kingdom, on the strength of which Pius VI., by a Brief of September 30th, 1783, erected a Vicariate Apostolic for the Swedish Catholics under the superintendence of Propaganda ; it was entrusted to a French secular cleric of the name of Oster.⁴

One can understand, therefore, the particular interest taken by the Pope in the arrival of the Swedish monarch when in the autumn of 1783 he undertook a journey to Italy for reasons of health. Vincenzo Catenacci was sent as a courier by the Pope to meet the king, who was travelling as the Count of Haga, at the frontier. The story is often told how Catenacci mistook for Gustavus III. the Emperor Joseph II., who was hurrying to Rome in secret under the name of the

¹ *Corresp. des Direct.*, XIV., 312 seqq.

² *Ibid.*, 328 ; *notes by Fr. Fortunati, *loc. cit.*

³ **Epist.*, 179, Papal Secret Archives.

⁴ *Bull. de Prop. Fide*, IV., 192 ; MORONI, LXXI., 294 ; TAVANTI, I., 169 ; GENDRY, II., 2 ; METZLER, 199. Brief of recommendation for Easter, March 22, 1783, in THEINER, *Clementis XIV. Epistolae*, 382.

Count of Falkenstein. This misunderstanding made it easier for the emperor to carry out his intention of taking the Pope by surprise. Pius, awaiting the arrival of the King of Sweden, suddenly found himself faced on the evening of December 23rd with the emperor, who had been accompanied to the Vatican by Cardinal Herzan and Count Kinsky.¹ The negotiations that took place between the two led to the conclusion of a concordat.

Gustavus III. arrived in Rome a half-hour before midnight and put up at the Palazzo Correa, near the mausoleum of Augustus.² Like the emperor, he attended in the strictest incognito the ceremonies in the Sistine Chapel on Christmas Eve and the Papal High Mass in St. Peter's on the following morning. Afterwards he paid his visit to the Pope, attended by his Grand Master of Ceremonies and two adjutants, both French Catholics. The Pope invested him with the Order of the Golden Spur. On the day after Christmas Gustavus accepted an invitation to visit Cardinal Bernis and shortly before he left he was joined at the Cardinal's house by the emperor who, however, retained his strict incognito. The king, related Bernis, would have done likewise had he not wished to show his attachment to France. "The two monarchs have exchanged visits and given marks of their friendly attitude towards each other, but God alone can see into the hearts of men, especially those of princes."³

It was only the incognito of the Swedish king that prevented Pius VI. from returning his visit in person. Gustavus III. was perfectly content with the situation as it was, for he wanted

¹ *Corresp. des Direct.*, XIV., 393 seqq.; BECCATINI, II., 125; SCHLITTER, *Pius VI. und Joseph II.*, 77. For the concordat, cf. below, p. 473.

² For Gustavus III.'s stay in Rome, cf. the information in MORONI, LXXI., 274 seqq., mostly taken from *Cracas*; TAVANTI, I., 168 seq.; *Corresp. des Direct.*, XIV., 393 seqq., 396 seqq.; v. BILDT, *Svenska Minnen och Marken i Roma*, 205 seqq., 224 seqq., 238 seqq., 256 seqq., 261 seqq. There are a bust and an inscription in memory of Gustavus in the Accademia di S. Luca.

³ *Corresp. des Direct.*, XIV., 397.

to damp the ardour of the Lutheran zealots in Sweden without provoking them unnecessarily.¹ He stayed on in Rome when the emperor left on December 29th to visit his sister Carolina in Naples. Without infringing the king's incognito the Pope arranged for him to have a special seat where he could watch the ecclesiastical ceremonies of the New Year, Epiphany, and the feast of St. Peter's Chair. The Pope, like everyone else, was charmed with the king's dignified and natural bearing and had another conversation with him lasting two hours.² The king also accepted an invitation to dine with the Cardinal Secretary of State, on which occasion the ceremonial was regulated by Bernis.³

On January 5th, 1784, another royal personage had arrived in Rome, the Duchess Maria Amalia of Parma, a daughter of the Empress Maria Theresa. On the following day she was received in audience by the Pope, who afterwards sent her the Golden Rose. Gustavus III. was among the guests who attended the entertainments given in her honour by the *nepote* Braschi and Cardinal Bernis. When the emperor returned from Naples on January 18th to spend three more days in Rome he intended to honour the King of Sweden with a visit before his audience with the Pope, but he failed to meet him, Gustavus having the same experience on returning his visit two hours later.⁴

Highly pleased with his reception in Rome,⁵ Gustavus left the city for Naples on January 28th. Returning on March 10th, he resided this time at the Palazzo Giraud and immediately after his arrival he obtained an audience from the Pope. He remained in Rome until April 19th. The management of State affairs did not prevent him from giving his attention to all the principal monuments of pagan and Christian Rome. Many of his visits, such as those to the dome

¹ *Ibid.*, 398.

² *Ibid.*, 402.

³ GENDRY, II., 3.

⁴ *Corresp. des Direct.*, XIV., 403 *seqq.*, 408.

⁵ *Fr. Fortunati, *loc. cit.*

of St. Peter's and to the Capitol, were recorded in inscriptions.¹ Cardinal Bernis, at whose house the king dined every evening, lays stress on the king's abnormal interest in architecture and sculpture.² In the Museo Pio-Clementino the Pope himself acted as guide, an incident which was perpetuated in a fresco in the gallery of the Vatican Library.³ A painting by Jean Louis Desprez in the Stockholm Museum also depicts this meeting of the king and the Pope in the museum, apparently a fortuitous one but, in fact, prearranged. In another painting the king is seen attending Mass on Christmas morning in St. Peter's.⁴ The painter Gagnereaux, who was one of Bernis' special *protégés*, painted a picture of Gustavus III.'s visit to the Vatican, and a copy of it was ordered by the Pope.⁵ Few royal personages have inspected Rome so thoroughly as Gustavus III. He visited the principal palazzi, villas, churches, and monasteries, nor did he overlook the little church of S. Brigida, the national church of the Swedes. To the Pantheon and St. Peter's especially he paid frequent visits. At the Propaganda, where he took great interest in the library and printing works, he was presented by Cardinal Antonelli with a quatrain composed by Francesco Cancellieri and translated into forty-four languages. The *Arcadia* admitted him to membership under the name of Anessandro Cheronea. Outside the city he made excursions to the Alban Hills and to Tivoli.⁶

Cardinal Bernis related that Gustavus III. showed the deepest interest in all the church ceremonies and attended them in Holy Week with greater reverence than many Catholics. "The Pope's Low Mass, shorn of all pomp," wrote the Cardinal, "edified the king, and he was impressed by the majesty of the Papal blessing at Easter. He agreed with me

¹ BILDT, 238 *seq.*; FORCELLA, VI., 198.

² *Corresp. des Direct.*, XIV., 429.

³ FORCELLA, VI., 192.

⁴ THIEME, IX., 147.

⁵ *Ibid.*, XIII, 66 *seq.* The replica is now in the Prague Museum.

⁶ MORONI, XIV., 240, LXXI, 276.

that the grandeur displayed on that occasion, which the Protestants decry, is necessary to some extent to maintain religious feeling." The king kept his Easter according to the Protestant rite quite quietly in the Palazzo Giraud.¹

Before his departure Gustavus was able, through the Pope's courtesy, to admire the illumination of the dome of St. Peter's, a spectacle unique in Europe that always attracted numerous strangers.² Normally, it took place only on June 29th. As a present Gustavus sent the Pope a very valuable collection of all the Swedish coins, which gave great pleasure to the recipient. In return, Pius VI. gave him some gobelins and pictures in mosaic. On parting they embraced each other.³ The king left behind as his agent, principally for the purchase of antiquities for the Stockholm Museum, Francesco Piranesi, whose acquaintance he had made when visiting his studio.⁴

The Holy Week ceremonies of 1784 drew a greater number of strangers of every nationality⁵ to Rome than Bernis had known in the course of his fifteen years' residence there.⁶ There was another great concourse in 1785, when the Duke of Courland came with his wife to spend six months in the city. He was received by the Pope without any unusual ceremony.⁷ On reporting the arrival of Princess Lubomirski with several Polish aristocrats in November 1785, Bernis observed that this year there seemed to be no end to the number of visitors.⁸ From the autumn of 1785 to the spring of 1786 and again at the end of the year the city was visited by a natural son of

¹ *Corresp. des Direct.*, XIV., 430 ; BECCATINI, II., 135 seq.

² *Corresp. des Direct.*, XIV., 432.

³ *Ibid.*, 430 ; BECCATINI, II., 136 seq.

⁴ BILDT, *Die Ausgrabungen Fredenheims*, 5 ; FOCILLON, *Piranesi*, 133. For Gustavus III.'s stay in Venice, v. the work by G. DALLA SANTA, Venezia, 1902 (Nozze publication).

⁵ *Corresp. des Direct.*, XV., 1.

⁶ *Ibid.*, XIV., 425.

⁷ *Ibid.*, XV., 7, 13. Brunati's *report of March 19, 1785 (State Archives, Vienna).

⁸ *Corresp. des Direct.*, XV., 58.

Louis XV., the Abbé de Bourbon, whose irreproachable conduct caused the Pope much pleasure.¹

At Easter 1786 the number of visitors to Rome was greater than ever.² Among them were the Duc de Choiseul and the Duke and Duchess of Cumberland.³ As the King of England's brother the duke was fêted with particular brilliance.⁴ In the summer the presence of a fabulously wealthy Armenian attracted much attention,⁵ and in November the Duke of Gloucester appeared for the third time.⁶ At Easter 1787 Rome was again the goal of thousands of strangers, including several English noblemen ; families from Holland and Sweden, and indeed from almost every country in Europe were also noted.⁷

A notable event for the German colony of artists was the visit of the Dowager Duchess Amalie of Weimar, who spent the last three months of 1788 in Rome. She, like other non-Catholic sovereigns, was received by the Pope with every courtesy and was presented by him with a costly mosaic representation of the Arch of Constantine. By the Princess Santa Croce the duchess was also introduced to the Cardinal Secretary of State Boncompagni and Cardinal Braschi. In February 1789 she came to Rome again, residing in the Villa Malta. The Roman aristocracy and the hospitable Cardinal Bernis in particular were most lavish in paying their attentions to this distinguished lady round whom was grouped almost the whole of Goethe's circle. Her presence in Rome caused the creation of some well-known works of art. Angelica Kauffmann painted her portrait and Trippel made a bust of Herder which was a worthy companion-piece to his bust of Goethe. Perhaps the most delightful memento of the time is the

¹ MASSON, *Bernis*, 381 *seqq.* The Abbé de Bourbon died of the smallpox in Naples on February 27, 1787.

² Fr. Fortunati's *notes, *loc. cit.*

³ *Corresp. des Direct.*, XV., 84 *seq.*

⁴ Further details in Fr. Fortunati's *notes, *loc. cit.*

⁵ **Ibid.*

⁶ *Corresp. des Direct.*, XV., 117.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 127 *seq.*

water-colour in Tiefert, in which Herder is seen beneath the cypresses of the Villa d' Este, reading to the duchess scenes from Goethe's *Tasso*.¹

In the early nineties the Duke of Sussex, a son of King George III. of England, paid frequent visits to Rome.² Another visitor, in April 1791, was King Ferdinand of Naples, who was on his way to Vienna with his wife. On their return they again broke their journey in Rome.³ The king received every honour at the hands of the Pope⁴ and on both occasions had lengthy conversations with him on their ecclesiastico-political differences, the settlement of which had long been exercising the mind of the peace-loving Pius VI.

In view of the large numbers of non-Catholic visitors to Rome the visit of the King of Sweden may be said to have heralded a new era. In spite of all their prejudices the Protestant rulers now began to recognize the greatness of the Papacy, while the "enlightened" Catholic absolutists, blind to the signs of the times, were seeking to debase the Holy See to a mere Italian bishopric.

¹ HARNACK, 103 *seqq.*; NOACK, 123 *seqq.*, 371. Here are notes on the Villa Malta, so called after the envoy of the Maltese Order, Bailly de Breteuil, who lived here in 1774. From 1781 to 1788 it was the residence of Cardinal Acquaviva.

² NOACK, 404.

³ Fr. Fortunati's *notes, *loc. cit.*

⁴ RINIERI, 351.

CHAPTER III.

THE ATTEMPTED ESTABLISHMENT OF STATE CHURCHES IN NAPLES, VENICE, AND TUSCANY—THE SITUATION IN PORTUGAL.

(1)

IN Naples King Ferdinand's all-powerful Minister, Tanucci, continued during the pontificate of Pius VI. to trample underfoot the rights of the Pope and to usurp to himself the settlement of ecclesiastical questions. All the Government decrees, reported the nuncio Vincentini on September 27th, 1776, were violations of the Church's authority; here the principle prevailed that the king had the right to legislate in the ecclesiastical as well as the civil sphere.¹ Thus, the subjects of Ferdinand IV. were forbidden to go on pilgrimage to Rome to gain the jubilee indulgence of 1775 and it was decided arbitrarily that visits to the four chief churches in Naples would suffice instead. In a similarly arbitrary fashion the excessively large number of monasteries in Naples was diminished,² seventy-eight monasteries were dissolved in Sicily, and four bishoprics were combined into one.³ Hardly had an agreement been reached with the Pope about the reoccupation of the vacant archbishopric of Naples when the Government saw to it that the new Archbishop, Serafino Filingeri, omitted from his title the words "Bishop by the grace of the Apostolic See" ("*et Apostolicæ Sedis gratia*"). A further rift was caused by the Government's demand that Filingeri be made a Cardinal. When Pius VI. refused to agree

¹ RINIERI, *Rovina di una Monarchia*, lvii. Cf. *Arch. stor. p. Salerno*, III. (1923), 3 seqq.

² SCHIPA, *Napoli al tempo di Carlo Borbone*, 626 seqq.

³ *Lebensgesch. Pius' VI.*, I., 145 seqq.; SENTIS, 194. Even BOURGOING-AZARA (II., 32) call the order concerning the indulgence a ridiculous usurpation on the part of the civil power.

to this, Tanucci voiced the threat that the king himself would bestow the purple on distinguished prelates.¹ The offering of the customary feudal tribute of 7,000 ducats and a caparisoned palfrey by the Grand Constable, Prince Lorenzo Colonna, on SS. Peter and Paul, 1776, was the occasion for a quarrel about precedence between the Constable's pages and those of the Roman Governatore, Cornaro. This gave Tanucci the opportunity to offer still another insult to the Holy See. A letter from the king, of July 9th, 1776, stated that, while no legal consequences were involved, in future the discharge of the interest would be effected in private only, through his ambassador or an accredited agent.²

This was one of the aged Tanucci's last acts, for in October 1776 he received his discharge. Queen Carolina had brought about his departure in order to free herself of the Spanish tutelage. In Rome there was rejoicing at the ultimate fall of one of the most violent enemies of the Holy See,³ but the hope that his successor, the Marchese della Sambuca, would assume a different policy soon vanished. The disagreements continued. The delivery of the palfrey took place in due course in 1777, but the satisfaction this caused⁴ was lessened by the statement that it was merely to be regarded as a mark of respect paid to the Princes of the Apostles.⁵ So far as ecclesiastical policy was concerned, Tanucci's spirit lived on in his pupils. The Minister of Justice, Carlo Demarco, was prominent among those who saw to it that the former anti-Roman course was adhered to. As early as February 1778 the nuncio was reporting that there was hardly an article of the concordat of 1741 that was not being infringed by the Government.⁶ The rights of the Pope were ruthlessly violated by the civil legislation; impediments to marriage could be confirmed by Rome only with the royal permission and even

¹ [BOURGOING-AZARA], II., 32 *seqq.*

² RINIERI, 256 *seqq.*; MASSON, *Bernis*, 333.

³ A. Renier's report of November 2, 1776, BROSCHE, II., 168.

⁴ Azara's *report of June 26, 1777, Archives of Simancas.

⁵ RINIERI, 260 *seq.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, lxi.

relaxations of the enclosure of nuns were to be sought from the king instead of the Pope. The Franciscans were forbidden by the Government to accept novices during the following ten years.¹ By 1779 things had come to such a pass that the exequatur was withheld without exception from all Papal Briefs and dispensations unless the royal permission to have recourse to Rome, with a statement of the reasons therefor, had been previously obtained. The penalty for transgressing this regulation was banishment from the realm. On very many matters of a purely ecclesiastical nature recourse to the Pope was universally and unconditionally prohibited. This affected especially all those cases where the right of surveillance and the supreme jurisdictional authority of the Pope should have been exercised.² A tax of 50,000 ducats was arbitrarily levied on the Carthusian monasteries to defray the cost of the royal navy.³ The Papal right of presentation to canonries and parochial benefices was also abolished, on the ground that according to the canons it belonged to the Bishops, even in the Papal months. But as the Bishops declined to exercise this right, a large number of benefices were left unoccupied.⁴ Towards the end of 1781 negotiations were begun with a view to settling these troubles but they brought no relief; on the contrary, the encroachments on the ecclesiastical domain increased.⁵ The most galling of them was the ever greater extension of the royal claim to the right of presentation to

¹ *Lebensgesch. Pius' VI.*, I., 286 *seqq.*, II., 183 *seqq.*; RINIERI, lix *seqq.*

² SENTIS, 194.

³ RINIERI, lxvi. Cf. the complaints made by the Secretary of State in the *Cifra to the Paris nuncio Doria, of September 8, 1779, Nunziat. di Francia 641A, Papal Secret Archives.

⁴ SENTIS, 195.

⁵ *Cifre to the nuncio to Madrid, of December 27, 1781, and April 19, 1782 ("Guai sopra guai: a quelli di Napoli non solo non si è trovato il riparo, ma sono essi crescendo nel lungo tempo decorso dalla prima implorazione del real padrocinio di S.M. Catt. alla buona causa di S. S^{ta}"), Nunziat. di Spagna 436, Papal Secret Archives.

episcopal sees.¹ And the Bishops themselves were to be mere tools in the hands of the Government, for by a law of December 2nd, 1783, they were forbidden to issue monitoria or to inflict the penalty of excommunication ; when they contravened this prohibition the royal authorities pronounced their ordinances null and void.² The Church's jurisdiction over the laity in matters of faith was abolished and in March 1783 the ecclesiastical inquisition in Sicily was suppressed, allegedly because His Majesty wished to do away with any form of compulsion in the matter of religion. Well-informed contemporaries, however, stated that the real reason was the Fiscal's desire to appropriate the rich revenues of this tribunal.³ In May 1783 the customary annual contribution of 2,050 ducats to St. Peter's in Rome was discontinued, the reason being, according to the nuncio's report, that the Government was seizing on every means of swelling the State funds.⁴ The great earthquake that ravaged Calabria in 1783 provided a welcome opportunity to suppress there a far larger number of religious houses than had been sanctioned by the Pope. In January 1784, at the royal command, this lot befell thirty-four Olivetan houses in Sicily, allegedly because of detected abuses ; their revenues, amounting to 36,000 ducats per annum, accrued to the State.⁵ At the beginning of 1784 Neapolitan subjects were forbidden every form of recourse to Rome ; the penalty prescribed for Bishops who contravened this decree was the sequestration of their incomes ; for the laity, banishment.⁶

It was no exaggeration to say that in the kingdom of Naples the fundamental rights of the Church, the primacy of the Pope, and his supreme right of jurisdiction and surveillance were in practice denied, intercourse with the head of the

¹ SENTIS, 195.

² *Ibid.*, 198.

³ *Ibid.*, 196 ; WOLF, IV., 41 *seqq.* ; HELFERT in *Archiv f. österr. Gesch.*, LVIII., 290 *seqq.*

⁴ RINIERI, lxvii.

⁵ HELFERT, 291 ; [BOURGOING-AZARA], II., 65 *seqq.*

⁶ Brunati's *report of February 4, 1784 (State Archives, Vienna).

Church was severed, the essential rights of the Bishops to exercise their pastoral office were secularized, ecclesiastical freedom and immunity were destroyed, and whatever external rights and powers were possessed by the Church were declared to be the sovereign rights of princes.¹

The heaviest blow to be struck at the ecclesiastical polity was the claim put forward by the Crown to the right of presentation to all the episcopal sees. The Pope had no option but to suspend their occupation, so that in 1784 in the kingdom of Naples alone there were thirty vacant sees. Negotiations for a settlement of this question, into which Pius VI. was willing to enter, were inevitably ruined by Sambuca's demand, as a preliminary condition, for the recognition of all the royal investitures made up to 1785.² Far-seeing contemporaries were already prophesying that the undermining of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction and authority would also bring about the downfall of the royal throne.³

The Marchese della Sambuca was not only a worthy successor to Tanucci in his dealings with the Church but was also the master of the king, who was weak-willed and had no taste for business. It was not till the early part of 1786 that the energetic Queen Carolina succeeded in deposing this despotic Minister as well and thus crippled the influence of the Spanish party in Naples.⁴ Sambuca, who during his term of office had enriched himself with the Jesuit properties in Palermo,⁵ was replaced by Domenico Caracciolo, who until then had been viceroy of Sicily. More far-seeing than the Minister for the Interior, Demarco, who rejected all negotiations for a settlement, Caracciolo frankly recognized that the State would also profit by the cessation of religious anarchy in the Neapolitan kingdom. He therefore adopted the proposal of the Bishop of Caserta, Domenico Pignatelli, and

¹ SENTIS, 198 *seq.*

² RINIERI, 13.

³ *Lamenti delle vedove ovvero rimostanze delle vacanti chiese di Napoli*, Filadelfia, 1784, 92.

⁴ HELFERT, 296 *seqq.*

⁵ RINIERI, lxxiii.

opened negotiations with the internuncio Severino Servanzi, who had been administering the nunciature in Naples since the death of Vincentini. At the same time he openly asserted that his king did not consider himself inferior to the rulers of France and Spain and therefore claimed the same right of presentation to all bishoprics as they possessed.¹ Though this pronouncement was anything but encouraging, the Pope indicated his willingness to take part in discussions and sent Mgr. Lorenzo Caleppi to Naples in June 1786.² At precisely this juncture a furious onslaught was being launched there against the religious houses. A decree signed by Caracciolo on June 28th, 1786, severed connexion between the Neapolitan houses and the foreign Generals and Chapters and subjected them in ecclesiastical matters to the Bishops of the country. When the Pope complained of these measures he was referred by the Neapolitan Government to the thousands of petitions submitted to the king for the secularization of the monasteries or at any rate for their separation from foreign authorities.³ In answer to this challenge it was Pius VI.'s intention to recall Caleppi but this was prevented by the Secretary of State Boncompagni.

There was another matter that threatened to wreck the negotiations for a settlement at their very outset. After the Archbishop of Naples had pronounced in the court of first instance the marriage between the Duke of Maddoloni and Giuseppa de Cardenas to be null and void, the duke appealed to the Pope, who wanted to delegate a Neapolitan Bishop to decide the case in the second instance. The king, however, claimed this right for the Capellano Maggiore, who was to be supported by two clerical and civil judges. It was only with the greatest difficulty that Caleppi succeeded in having the case suspended in September 1786.⁴

Caleppi's negotiations were concerned with the appointment of Bishops, the dependence of the Orders on their Generals in

¹ *Ibid.*, 18 *seqq.*

² His instruction *ibid.*, lxxiv *seqq.*

³ HELFERT, 316 ; RINIERI, 27.

⁴ RINIERI, 29 *seqq.*, 36, 277 *seqq.*, 282 *seqq.*

Rome, the jurisdiction of the nuncio, and lastly the collation of benefices, abbeys, and commanderies. On all these points exorbitant claims were raised by the Government. It became clear that the driving force behind them were Queen Carolina and her confidential adviser, Sir John Acton.¹ Ambitious and tyrannical, Carolina showed that her principles were those of her brother, Emperor Joseph II. With an amazing duplicity she assured Caleppi of her desire to come to an equitable arrangement with the Holy See, while actually she was collaborating with the party in Naples that was aiming not at an honourable peace but at the spoliation and suppression of the Church.² She was supported in her conduct by Joseph II., who in March 1787 advised her to spin out the negotiations while he was making ready to deal Rome another blow, the dismissal of the nuncio from Brussels.³

Nevertheless, after nine months of fruitless negotiations there suddenly appeared another ray of hope. At Easter, 1787, Caracciolo submitted a fresh proposal for a concordat, with which Caleppi left for Rome on April 13th. By the end of the month he was back in Naples, but the negotiations made no progress whatever, as Naples was making impossible demands in the matter of the Orders and the nuncio. On August 8th Caracciolo declared that it was impossible to abate them without infringing the sovereign rights of his king, and he threatened to break off the negotiations if his Government's wishes were not complied with. At the same time the country was flooded with anti-Papal broadsheets.⁴ While Caleppi

¹ John Francis Edward Acton, 6th Baronet of the name, b. 1736, d. at Palermo, 1811. Since 1779 engaged in the reorganization of the Neapolitan navy.

² *Ibid.*, 103, 109 seq., 114 seq., 121, 133, 136, 161 seq.

³ *Ibid.*, 160.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 175, 189. Brunati had already foretold the unsuccessful issue of the negotiations for the concordat in his *report of April 21, 1787 (State Archives, Vienna). For the projects for a concordat formed from 1786 onwards, cf. also B. PELUSO, *Documenti intorno alla relaz. fra Stato e Chiesa nelle due Sicilie*, III., Napoli, 1898.

despaired of coming to any satisfactory conclusion the Secretary of State, Boncompagni, thought that something might still be done by personal conversations. Caleppi advised against any such attempt, but Pius VI., in his desire for peace and his solicitude for the forty vacant sees,¹ gave his consent. Accordingly, Cardinal Boncompagni, ostensibly for the purpose of enjoying a *villeggiatura*, repaired to Portici, which he reached on October 17th. The negotiations began on the 19th and lasted till November 4th. Boncompagni first discussed matters thoroughly with Caracciolo and Acton, who was then all-powerful at the Court, and was later received by the king and queen. He made a full report to Rome but could only announce the complete failure of his extraordinary mission.² The Neapolitan demands went even further than the former ones: the right of nomination and presentation to all benefices and abbeys to be ceded to the king, eight rich abbeys to be secularized *in commendam* for Knights of the Order of Constantine; the right to secularize benefices in the gift of a patron and to charge benefices with pensions. Further, a royal *Giunta*, to be set up in Naples, was to have full authority to suppress convents and to supervise and administer justice to Regulars. Finally, the Orders in both realms were to be almost entirely severed from connexion with their Generals.³

By the end of the year Caleppi was no longer in any doubt that Naples was working for a complete break with the Holy See.⁴ And his prognostication was soon to prove correct. On

¹ This is the figure given by Brunati in his *report of August 22, 1787 (*loc. cit.*).

² Boncompagni's reports of November 1 and 2, 1787, were first published by SENTIS (200 *seqq.*) from the original text in the Papal Secret Archives, then by SCHIPA (*Un ministro napolit. D. Caracciolo 1786-9*, Napoli, 1897, Doc. xx) from a copy in the Neapolitan National Library. RINIERI (195-201 and 203-8) published the report from the original in the Papal Secret Archives, which alone contains the postscript of November 4 (Rinieri, 208-211), which is missing from the copies.

³ SENTIS, 201.

⁴ RINIERI, 222.

January 4th, 1788, he was handed another proposal for a concordat which aimed at nothing less than the exclusion of the supreme Papal right of control and the jurisdictional primacy of the Holy See, the debasement of the Bishops to the status of civil servants, and the secularization of church property. If the Pope did not comply with these demands, whose ultimate object was the severance of the Church in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies from the centre of unity and the setting up of a national Church, no further negotiations would be entered into.¹ Pius VI. was prepared to grant some of these demands but to accede to all of them was more than his conscience would allow. To the threat of greater evils he replied that he was resigned to whatever might happen but that he had not deserved such a fate.² To this restrained statement, fraught with the deepest distress, Caracciolo retorted with the threat of schism. With Rome, it was stated in his letter of February 26th, 1788, it was impossible to come to terms. To reach an agreement one had to take common sense as a basis of argument, not maxims, possession, privileges, or the practice of the Curia ; otherwise one got nowhere. The old Roman way of bargaining was no good for the eighteenth century. The whole world had freed itself from the old prejudices and fetters. Rome might bewail the misery and suffering of the Pope but it should be remembered that the king, too, had much to endure from the crafty and tortuous method ("*tortuosa maniera*") with which Rome had gone to work in these negotiations. The Pope should consider the matters in dispute not merely from a Christian but also from a philosophical standpoint and finally come to a decision, for the supreme religious conscience of the king could not tolerate much longer the vacancy of so many sees and the desertion of so many posts. The latter needed Bishops, who after all were appointed by Christ to govern the Church. His Majesty was bound to consider the dictates of his conscience and the spiritual needs of his subjects.³

¹ SENTIS, 201 *seqq.*

² *Ibid.*, 204 ; RINIERI, 242 *seqq.*

³ SENTIS, 205 ; RINIERI, 238.

How this solicitude would be expressed was already being indicated by writers in the pay of the Government who were saying that the consecration of the Bishops should be undertaken by the civil authority. In a writing of 1789 the king was directly invited to convoke a National Council and through this body to fill the vacant sees.¹ The calm and dignified reply that was made at the Pope's request was that as he perceived from Caracciolo's communication that the king was firmly determined not to accept any further letters on the subjects under dispute he declined to continue the negotiations.²

Meanwhile, further encroachments on ecclesiastical rights were being committed in Naples; it was even declared that the right of presentation to the archbishopric of Benevento, although it lay in Papal territory, belonged to the king of the Two Sicilies. This assertion was countered by the Secretary of the Propaganda, Stefano Borgia, who expounded the right of the Holy See. In spite of all that had happened, Rome would still not abandon all hope of arriving at a settlement.³

Subsequently, the tension was increased by two incidents, the first being the formal rejection by Naples of its feudal dependence on the Holy See that had subsisted for 800 years.

Hitherto the feudal question had been handled in such a

¹ SENTIS, 205.

² Boncompagni's letter of March 4, 1788, in SENTIS, 205.

³ Boncompagni's *Cifra to the Paris nuncio of June 4, 1788 (Nunziat. di Francia 458B, Papal Secret Archives): "... Desidero che Ella informi il degnissimo Sig^r Conte di Montmarin, che noi non abbiamo ancora commesso nè pensato a commettere alcun Manifesto contro la Corte di Napoli, essendo assai illanguidite, ma non del tutto ancora spente, le nostre speranze; nè forse sarebbe Mgr. Borgia che dovrebbe stenderlo. Un incendiario scrittore per nome Cestri (il medesimo che ora scrive un'opera, di cui ho già alcuni fogli stampati sopra l'istituzione e consacrazione de' Vescovi), il Cestri, dissi, ha stampato un'opera contro i diritti della Sede Apostolica circa Benevento. Mgr. Borgia stampa una risposta a questo articolo solamente ..."

way that the downright denial of an obligation which in any case had been guaranteed by the most definite treaties and documented in the most solemn records and numerous deeds, had been held over the Pope's head like the sword of Damocles, in the hope of forcing him to yield completely in the ecclesiastico-political matters in dispute.¹ This hope was now abandoned and it was resolved to take the final, decisive step of absolutely refusing to pay the feudal tribute. Again the driving force was Queen Carolina, the worthy sister of Joseph II., Caracciolo and Acton rendering her willing assistance, the former openly, the latter in a more concealed manner.²

Even the enemies of the Papacy had to acknowledge that Pius VI. bore with all these fresh insults with admirable dignity.³ His allocution to the Cardinals was couched throughout in terms of moderation.⁴ The refusal to offer the tribute he ascribed to the king's advisers and he protested that in these ecclesiastico-political disputes he had had only one object in mind : the preservation of the dignity and the rights of the Church. The solemn protest made by the Papal fiscal after the Mass in St. Peter's on June 29th was likewise framed in conventional terms, as was also the Papal confirmation of it. The king, acting through Ricciardelli, his representative in Rome, made a private offer of 7,000 ducats in token of his respect but this naturally had to be refused by the Secretary of State. Thereupon Ricciardelli deposited the money with the Monte di Pietà, to be held at the Pope's disposal.⁵

On July 9th Pius VI. made a personal, written appeal to

¹ Brunati's *report to Colloredo of April 30, 1783 (State Archives, Vienna) ; WOLF, IV., 82.

² RINIERI, 275 ; LIOY, *L'abolizione dell' omaggio della China*, in the *Arch. stor. Napol.*, VII. (1882), 263 seqq. ; WEIL, *Le St-Siège et la cour de Naples en 1788*, in the *Revue hist. de la révolution franç.*, Juillet-Sept., 1912.

³ BROSCHE, II., 167.

⁴ *Corresp. des Direct.*, XV., 464.

⁵ SENTIS, 206 ; RINIERI, 267 seqq., 269 seqq. The text of the protest and Pius VI.'s reply to it in BORGIA, *Istoria*, ix seqq., xiii seqq.

King Ferdinand on the subject of the feudal tribute. He described his right in the same moderate language as before and stressed how earnestly he had striven for a settlement of the differences between the Church and State.¹ It is clear from the king's reply ² that this appeal had no effect on his views, and equally little impression was made by Stefano Borgia's learned disquisitions on the Holy See's undoubted right in the matter.³ This right was also acknowledged by the Cabinets in Madrid and Paris, which disapproved of the policy of Naples but lacked the energy to support the Pope.⁴

The refusal to pay the tribute was only the prologue to an invasion of the purely ecclesiastical domain which was of far-reaching importance and had the most harmful results.

The appeal lodged by the Duke of Maddaloni against the dissolution of his marriage was still pending. Although the Pope was willing to delegate as judge a Neapolitan Bishop suitable to the king, Ferdinand usurped this right to himself and transferred it to the Bishop of Mottola, Stefano Ortiz Cortés. Ortiz, departing widely from the principles of law, confirmed the judgment of the court of first instance. This decision was published by the king on August 9th, 1788.⁵

In the face of this encroachment on his rights it was impossible for the Pope to hold his peace and he duly protested in two Briefs. In one of them he informed the duke's wife that her marriage was not dissolved by any such invalid measure; in the other he sharply rebuked the Bishop of Mottola for his utterly illegal procedure. When Servanzi, the Uditore to the nunciature, called on the duchess she, making various excuses, refused to receive him, and the Bishop of

¹ TAVANTI, II., 34 *seqq.*

² *Ibid.*, 35 *seqq.* According to the *records in the Neapolitan State Archives (Pol. Est.-Roma) Ferdinand's reply was approved on July 14, signed on the 20th, and dispatched on the 22nd.

³ See above, p. 53.

⁴ RINIERI, 570 *seqq.*

⁵ RINIERI, 284 *seqq.*; L. CONFORTI, *Una contesa giurisdizionale tra il re Ferdinando IV. e il pontefice Pio VI.*, no place of publication, 1883.

Mottola told the Papal representative that without the royal *exequatur* he could not accept a Papal Brief. When Servanzi reminded him that this was a purely ecclesiastical affair the Bishop defended himself on the plea that Christ had appointed the Bishops as the rightful administrators of the Church. To which Servanzi retorted that Jesus Christ had placed this right in the hands of St. Peter and his successors. To cut short this altercation with the highly incensed Ortiz, Servanzi then withdrew. His attempt to enlist the support of the benevolent but weak-willed Archbishop of Naples was unsuccessful.¹

The Neapolitan Government made use of this incident to break openly with the Holy See. On September 26th Servanzi was ordered to leave the country immediately for having tried to present two Papal Briefs without the royal *exequatur*. All remonstrances were in vain, and on the 28th he had to leave Naples.² Pius VI. lodged complaints about this action with all the Catholic Courts and at the same time appealed to the king himself,³ but Ferdinand, following the advice of his anti-Roman Minister Demarco, was deaf to all arguments and continued on the course he had chosen. On his own authority he handed over the administration of the numerous vacant sees to the neighbouring Bishops and committed such acts of despotism and made such inroads into purely ecclesiastical territory as, in the opinion of a contemporary, would not have happened even in Protestant England.⁴ Even before this the Government's reckless assumption of the Church's authority had been viewed with resentment by a large part of the population and the clergy.⁵ To convert public opinion numerous pamphlets were put into circulation in which the Pope alone was blamed for the conflict, his authority as supreme Shepherd was ridiculed, and anti-clerical principles

¹ RINIERI, 291 *seqq.*, 297 *seqq.*, 300 *seqq.*

² *Ibid.*, 302 *seqq.* Cf. Fr. Fortunati's *notes for September 29, 1788, in the Cod. Vat. 10,730, of the Vatican Library.

³ RINIERI, 307. Cf. LIOY in the *Arch. stor. Napol.*, VII., 718.

⁴ RINIERI, 317 *seqq.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 165.

were upheld. Even celibacy itself was attacked. The confusion that reigned in the Church was increased by the marked weakness that was shown by many members of the episcopate. The Bishop of Sora and the Archbishop of Manfredonia were alone in their manly defence of the rights of the Church and its supreme Head.¹

In spite of all the insults he had to endure Pius VI. was untiring in his efforts to effect a settlement. But his attempts to change the king's mind by means of private letters were completely unsuccessful. Spinelli's negotiations met with the same fate, his friendship with Acton notwithstanding.² The last hope of coming to terms was offered by the arrival in Rome on April 20th, 1791, of their Neapolitan majesties on their way back from Vienna. Pius VI. showed them every mark of respect³ and signified his readiness to make important concessions, especially in the matter of the vacant sees, whose number had now risen to sixty-two. But as the Government adhered to all its pretensions the same sad state of affairs persisted.⁴ Finally, however, the events in France gave the badly advised king more and more to think. Demarco was dismissed, the king on this occasion being said to have told Corradini, who was now entrusted with the handling of ecclesiastical affairs, "Do not forget that the Pope is my friend and that the priests and monks are my subjects."⁵ In this way the two parties came to an understanding about the episcopal appointments, in accordance with which the prelates nominated by the king were preconized at a secret consistory held on February 27th, 1792. The Pope considered that the harm that was arising from the vacancy of nearly half the bishoprics was too great to allow him to withhold any

¹ *Ibid.*, 322 *seqq.*, 332 *seq.*

² *Ibid.*, 338 *seqq.*

³ See above, p. 110.

⁴ Pius VI.'s letter to the Cardinal Pro-datarius of April 23, 1791, in RINIERI, 353.

⁵ Thus reported by Carlo Astorri to Baldovinetti on September 16, 1791 (*v. RODOLICO, Amici e i tempi di Scip. dei Ricci. Saggio sul Giansenismo italiano*, Florence, 1920, 118).

longer this great act of concession. But it was to be for this occasion only.¹ For the settlement of the other points in dispute he still hoped to bring about a concordat, but the negotiations conducted at Castellone by Cardinal Campanelli and Acton on July 24th to 31st, 1792, were ruined, in spite of the Pope's conciliatory attitude, by the Neapolitans' absolute refusal to give way in the matter of the feudal tribute and the jurisdiction of the nuncio.² On the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, 1795, Pius VI. had to renew his protest for the eighth time against the withholding of the tribute.³

While the Neapolitan Government was engaged in draining away the vital sources of the Church's organism, in cutting off communication with the centre of unity, and in founding a national Church, there were other forces at work, whose object was to overthrow the monarchy. Encouraged by Queen Carolina,⁴ freemasonry had been making steady progress in Naples and when, in November 1789, perceiving at last the danger of the secret society, she renewed the edicts against it of 1751 and 1775,⁵ it was too late. The unfortunate king and queen were subsequently made to realize that the enemies of the Holy See were, whenever circumstances permitted it, theirs too, and the rights of the Head of the State were contested on the same principles as those which had been preferred against the Head of the Church.⁶

(2)

Pius VI. was also most conciliatory in his relations with the Republic of Venice. Abbeys and livings founded there by the

¹ RINIERI, 357 *seqq.*, 599 *seqq.*

² *Ibid.*, 360 *seqq.*, according to which BECCATINI (III., 90) needs correcting.

³ **Epist.*, 192, p. 45 ; *ibid.*, 190, p. 33, for the *protest of 1793. Papal Secret Archives.

⁴ RINIERI, 382, 393, 396 *seq.*, 407, 423 *seq.*, 426.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 443 *seq.*

⁶ DÖLLINGER'S view (*Kirchengesch.*, 748).

Venetian aristocracy had been secularized at the very outset of his pontificate. In his displeasure ¹ Pius VI. refused to ratify the appointment of the new Patriarch, Federigo Maria Giovanelli, until this decree had been withdrawn, but he gave way when Venice threatened to sever diplomatic relations.² His hope that the Signoria would now refrain from issuing further arbitrary enactments in ecclesiastical matters was not fulfilled. In 1780 it suppressed six Benedictine monasteries and the abbey of S. Stefano at Polefine, near Rovigo.³ In a consistory held in the December of this year the Pope protested against these encroachments, saying that on this account he was unable to bestow the purple on so deserving a man as Francesco Carrara, who had been born in Venetian territory.⁴

At the beginning of 1781 the Venetian envoy complained to the Pope about some frontier disputes which had taken place at Rovigo, and Pius VI. promised to obtain information on the subject. As a result of the investigation it was established that the trouble was started by the Venetians, who had pierced the dykes to protect themselves from being flooded. The inhabitants of the Papal States arrived on the scene with the militia and some Venetians were injured.⁵ Fortunately this conflict was very quickly composed by mutual agreement,⁶ but later there were a number of disputes of an ecclesiastical nature. Thus, in November 1782 the encouragement given to the schismatic Greeks in Venice caused the Pope to make a serious complaint in writing to the Republic.⁷ Pius VI. was no more

¹ GENDRY, I., 158.

² WOLF, I., 381 *seqq.*, 439 *seqq.*

³ *Ibid.*, II., 507.

⁴ *Allocutio in consistorio secreto 1780 Decemb. 11, *Epist.*, 178, p. 436, *loc. cit.*

⁵ Herzan's *report to Colloredo, of January 14, 1781 (State Archives, Vienna), very different from WOLF's account (II., 507 *seqq.*), with its spiteful attack on Pius VI.

⁶ Herzan's *report of January 21, 1781, *loc. cit.* Cf. also *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 2, 1396.

⁷ *Brief of November 7, 1782, *Epist.*, 179, *loc. cit.*

successful in maintaining good relations with the Signoria than the pacific Benedict XIV. and the Venetian Clement XIII. He is said on one occasion to have told the Venetian ambassador that it was time the Republic made up its mind whether or not it wanted to stay in Peter's bark.¹ Meanwhile, more serious conflicts were avoided.

This was not to the liking of those who wanted the Church to be under State control. They complained that the Signoria, content with having been the first to break the ice, was stopping half-way. They also viewed with displeasure the negotiations for a settlement that were going on between Rome and Naples. Their ideal government was that of Tuscany, which they praised for the way in which it advanced slowly but surely and consistently towards its goal.²

And this was indeed the case. As Minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs Giulio Rucellai was succeeded in 1778 by a man of similar convictions, Stefano Bertolini. Under the influence of his advice, Grand Duke Leopold, whose ideas were entirely those of his brother, Emperor Joseph II., was intent on ordering the relations between the Church and State in an arbitrary fashion. He differed from the emperor only in so far as he was more skilful in concealing his real object, the severance of the Church in Tuscany from the Holy See.³

In the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, as elsewhere, manifold abuses had developed, especially in the life of the Orders. It would not have been difficult to come to an arrangement with the Holy See for their removal, for the Papal nuncios

¹ BECCATINI, II., 181 *seq.* •

² “ *La corte di Napoli non ha sistema fisso, ora ricorre a Roma e ora fa da sè ; quella di Toscana ha passo lento, ma fermo e ben fondata va costantemente al suo fine. Venezia, contenta del vanto d'aver una delle prime rotto il ghiaccio, si è addormentata a mezza strada e sta unicamente ora alla vedetta e nella più attenta osservazione per poi chiedere a Roma o regolarsi sull' altrui esempio.” Brunati to Colloredo, October 30, 1784, State Archives, Vienna.

³ WOLF, II., 402, III., 510 *seq.*

were working towards this end,¹ and Pius VI. was far from rejecting such an idea off-hand, as he had already subscribed to an agreement about benefices in 1775.² When Leopold introduced the first of the ecclesiastical innovations that encroached on his rights³ the Pope couched his admonitions in the form of affectionate requests,⁴ but the Grand Duke completely ignored them. His adviser Bertolini reminded him that he had obtained a considerable proportion of his sovereign rights in the ecclesiastical sphere by acting on his own authority and he urged him to use the same procedure in capturing the rest. Negotiations for a concordat, he alleged, stood no chance of success and endangered what had already been won.⁵ Consequently, Leopold confined himself to governmental measures, and laws were made which showed the influence of all the anti-clerical movements of Jansenism, Gallicanism, and the philosophy of "enlightenment".⁶ From the early eighties onwards the rights of the Holy See were infringed by one measure after another. In 1782 the payment to Rome of all the dues for spoils, vacancies, *quindennia*, etc.,

¹ GENDRY, I., 455. Pius VI. appointed Carlo Crivelli nuncio to Florence (*v.* the *Brief to Leopold I. of December 7, 1775, *Epist.*, 175, *loc. cit.*).

² REUMONT, *Toscana*, II., 158.

³ ZOBİ, *Storia civile*, II., 222 *seqq.*

⁴ *Brief to the Grand Duke Leopold of February 22, 1778 (*Epist.*, 177, *loc. cit.*, with the note: "Hoc breve subscripsit Phil. Bonamicius aegrotante B. Stay"), with urgent requests "in view of our friendship and our being neighbours" to refrain from making laws directed against the freedom of the Church, and with the hope of hearing, "in view of your indulgence and piety," of commendable resolutions. "Meminisceris, fili, Austriacae pietatis esse, imperium non tam armis quam religione tueri." ZOBİ (II., 224) admits his ignorance of the contents of the Brief but does not scruple to condemn it.

⁵ ZOBİ, II., 230 *seqq.*; REUMONT, II., 159.

⁶ BROSCHE'S opinion (II., 170). SCADUTO (*Stato e Chiesa sotto Leopoldo I di Toscana*, Firenze, 1885) has nothing but praise for the Leopoldine legislation.

that had been the custom hitherto, was refused, and the abolition of the Tuscan Inquisition was decreed, to quote the words of the edict, "out of the fullness of Our supreme and absolute authority." In 1784 the jurisdiction of the Bishops was restricted and the appointment of the Vicars General was made dependent on the approval of the Government.¹ Measures for the reform of the secular clergy had already been taken to a considerable extent. It is not denied that it was genuinely intended to remove the undoubted abuses, but the method adopted was absurd. Not only did the Government deal with these matters in the same stereotyped fashion as it dealt with economic and administrative reforms but it arrogated to itself rights which did not belong to it, and to such an extent that the ecclesiastical authority was left with nothing but its name.²

Leopold's policy of severing the Tuscan Church from the centre of unity is most clearly demonstrated by the harsh measures he took against the Orders, which he rightly perceived to be firm supports of the Holy See. In 1783 the suppression of the monasteries was assuming such proportions as to presage the total abolition of the religious Orders in Tuscany. This was borne out by the remark made by the man who next to Bertolini had become the Grand Duke's chief adviser, Scipione de' Ricci. On being asked by the Government in 1784 which of the monasteries in his diocese were superfluous, he replied that he could not call them superfluous and unprofitable as he considered them to be downright pernicious.³

Ricci, born in Florence in 1741, although a nephew of the Jesuit General, had already conceived a dislike of the Jesuits in his student days. In Rome, where he attended for a time the Roman College, he had once thought of entering the Society but he soon abandoned the idea. The germs of very different notions were planted in his mind by his association with the erudite Bottari, Antonio Niccolini, notorious for his

¹ REUMONT, II., 159 *seqq.*; ZOBEL, II., 305 *seqq.*, 320 *seqq.*

² REUMONT, II., 172 *seq.*

³ *Ibid.*, 165 *seqq.*

biting sarcasm, Foggini, the curator of the Corsini Library, and Cardinal Andrea Corsini, all well known as friends of the Jansenists.¹ Having returned to his native city he was a wholehearted supporter of the movement which regarded the Jansenists and appellants as enlightened Catholics and innocent victims of persecution.² Only a year after he had taken the sacerdotal vows he was expounding in a letter the Jansenist doctrine of grace.³ In 1773 he was recommending Van Espen's Jansenist-cum-Gallican views to the Vicar General of the Archbishop of Florence.⁴ From 1775 onwards he was ardently engaged in correspondence with French Jansenists, Canon Bellegarde in particular,⁵ who had taken refuge with the schismatics of Utrecht. Soon it became his ambition to reform the Church in his homeland on Jansenist-Gallican lines. He applauded the first of the innovations introduced by Grand Duke Leopold in 1769 and on his appointment as Vicar General in 1775 he persuaded the senile Archbishop of Florence, Incontri, to sanction a catechism which surreptitiously expounded the Jansenistic heresy. For the discontent this aroused among the loyally-minded Catholics the Vicar General consoled himself with the Grand Duke's approval of his conduct. Leopold was already thinking in 1778 of procuring for so useful a person the archbishopric of Pisa.⁶ This project came to nothing, but in the spring of 1780 Ricci was proposed by the Government for the see of Pistoia and after some hesitation his nomination was approved by

¹ N. RODOLICO, *Gli amici e i tempi di Scipione dei Ricci. Saggio sul Giansenismo italiano*, Firenze, 1920, 3 seqq. Cf. *Difesa contro la falsa dottrina che si contiene nella Vita di Scip. d. Ricci data in luce dal sig. de Potter, opera del sacerdote Bartol. Guidetti*, Lucca, 1826.

² RODOLICO, 47; VENTURI, *Leopoldo I.*, 85.

³ The *letter, dated October 19, 1767, and addressed to Canon Ricasoli, is in the Ricasoli Archives at Brolio, in Chianti, Tuscany; it is quoted by RODOLICO (201, nn. 1 and 37).

⁴ The letter to Baldovinetti is in RODOLICO, 41.

⁵ VENTURI, *loc. cit.*, 58.

⁶ RICCI, *Memorie*, ed. A. Gelli, I., Firenze, 1865, xvii.

Pius VI.¹ Cardinal Corsini had managed to allay the Pope's misgivings.²

In the diocese of Pistoia and Prato Bishop Federigo Alamanni (d. 1776) had already caused confusion with his campaign against the so-called Jesuit morality, and his successor, the aged Giuseppe Ippoliti, had been ensnared by the Jansenistic literature.³ Ricci went far beyond his predecessors on the fatal road that they had taken. In the very first year of his episcopate he appeared among the opponents of the veneration of the Sacred Heart, which was cultivated by the Jesuits in particular. Heedless of the approval and encouragement given by Clement XIII. as well as by Pius VI. to this devotion, which had proved so beneficial and was theologically established,⁴ Ricci issued a pastoral letter against it on June 3rd, 1781. In this he emphasized that the true religion was far removed from all "fetishism" and "Sadduceism" and described the devotion as "cardiolatry".⁵

One can well understand the Pope's astonishment at this behaviour, seeing that the Holy See had forestalled any misunderstanding by issuing an explanation of the devotion.⁶ This incident was followed by another that threatened to bring Ricci into conflict with the Holy See.

Seduced by the heresy of quietism, some of the Dominican nuns of Prato had been guilty of serious immorality. For the purpose of their correction Ricci applied not to the Holy See but to the civil authority. At the same time he had all the Dominicans forbidden to communicate with the female

¹ ZOBBI, II., 279 ; G. A. VENTURI, *Il vescovo de' Ricci e la Corte Romana fino alla sinodo di Pistoia*, Firenze, 1885, 7.

² ZOBBI, II., 278 ; RODOLICO, II seq.

³ REUMONT, II., 173.

⁴ Cf. our account, XXXVII, 404 seqq.

⁵ The pastoral letter, printed as an appendix to the *Atti e decreti del concilio dioc. di Pistoia*, Paris, 1788, was republished in the *Riv. Cristiana*, 1875 (Florence), 332 seqq.

⁶ RICCI, *Memorie*, I., 109.

religious of their Order and the Provincial threatened with expulsion in the event of non-compliance.¹

Pius VI., to whom Ricci had rendered a report, sternly rebuked the Bishop in a Brief of May 30th, 1781, for having excluded the Holy See from his proceedings against the nuns and he demanded that the culprits be committed for trial by the Inquisition.² But when the Grand Duke made an energetic intervention the Pope allowed the case to be dealt with by the Tuscan courts and deprived the priests of the Order of any influence over the nunneries, which were placed under the immediate jurisdiction of the Bishop. In a special Brief for Ricci he acknowledged his good intention and merely repeated his desire that so scandalous a matter should not be made known outside the convent walls. At the same time he emphasized that it had never been his intention to interfere in the proper exercise of episcopal jurisdiction.³ With this the matter seems to have closed⁴ but the great leniency shown by Pius VI.⁵ met with no response. On the contrary, Ricci seems to have actually sought for opportunities of coming into conflict with the Holy See.

Remarkable zeal was shown by the Bishop in depriving the Orders of facilities for performing their chief duties, namely teaching and preaching. In an official letter to the Government he described the religious as a pernicious and poisonous sect that rebelled against every just and Christian interference.⁶

¹ *Ibid.*, 54 *seqq.*; ZOB, II., Docum. 118 *seqq.* Records of legal proceedings in DE POTTER, *Vie de Ricci*, I., Bruxelles, 1825, 339. The most recent accounts in REUMONT, II., 173 *seqq.*, and BEANI, 73 *seqq.* Cf. also CORSI, 69 *seqq.* (opposing Potter), 114 *seqq.*

² Briefs of May 30, 1781, in RICCI, *Memorie*, I., 106 *seqq.*

³ ZOB, II., 295. The second Brief to Ricci, dated 1781, Quarto Cal. Sept., in RICCI, *Memorie*, I., 129 *seqq.* For the Grand Duke's intervention, *v.* VENTURI, *Leopoldo*, 67 *seqq.*

⁴ Grimaldi's report of September 6, 1781 (Archives of Simancas), to which was attached a letter from Pius VI. to Cardinal Corsini, of August 10, 1781.

⁵ REUMONT, II., 175.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 175 *seq.*

Ricci's campaign against the Orders, whose connexion with the Holy See ¹ was a thorn in his side, was accompanied by his propagation of Jansenistic views by means of popular writings ² and the inculcation of these views into the younger members of the clergy.³ Working in close conjunction with his friend Bellegarde, he used every means of flooding his diocese with "good", namely Jansenistic, literature. The number of these writings went into thousands, their value being estimated at 10,000 *scudi*.⁴

Prominent among these works were those of Quesnel. That his *Refléxions*, the Jansenist *Summa*, had been expressly condemned in the Bull *Unigenitus* was not of the least concern to Ricci. He praised the work for its profundity and edification and had it reprinted in Pistoia along with a crypto-Jansenist catechism. He ordered the doctrine of grace to be taught on Jansenistic principles in his seminary ⁵ and he founded a periodical called the *Annali ecclesiastici* which was run on same lines as the *Nouvelles ecclésiastiques* of Paris. By means of this and other periodicals he made propaganda for all opponents of the Holy See. The same object was served by a series of popular religious pamphlets started in 1785. The spirit in which this literature, intended for every class of reader, was produced may be gathered from the inclusion of a scurrilous work by Eybel, the canonist at the Court of Vienna, entitled "What is the Pope?". Ricci also put into circulation pictures of prominent Jansenists under the innocent title of "Portraits of Famous Men".⁶

How far the Bishop of Pistoia had gone astray is shown by

¹ VENTURI, *Leopoldo*, 86 n. In 1782 a friend of Ricci's went so far as to say that the "frati" had done nothing but harm to the Church and to Christianity and that these janissaries of the Pope had ruined everything with their ignorance, superstition, and fanaticism (RODOLICO, 133).

² RODOLICO, 44 *seq.*

³ BEANI, 79, 138 *seq.*

⁴ RODOLICO, 56 *seq.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 67, 80, 83 *seq.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, 87, 89, 92 *seqq.*, 97 *seqq.*, 107.

contemporary letters even more clearly than by his subsequent memoirs. Writing to the Grand Duke Leopold on January 13th, 1783, he complained of the attacks of the Romanists, in the face of which he would not have felt secure were he not in possession of the truth. The Bull *Unigenitus* was the masterpiece of Rome—that Babylon!—that was trying to destroy the essential features of their religion: God's dominion over the hearts of men and the dutiful obedience of the subject. In another letter, of July 18th, he exhorted the Grand Duke to suppress this Bull, for this was the propitious time, when a religious and enlightened prince was on the throne.¹

The appellation "Babylon" as applied to the Holy See occurs in other letters of Ricci's, such as that written to the Neapolitan Serrao, whose activity as Bishop of Potenza was encountering obstacles in Rome despite the exertions of the Government on his behalf. "Take courage, dearest friend!" he exhorted him, "we are exposed to a furious persecution by the first of our brothers (the Pope). Surrounded by irreligious 'religious', he neglects no opportunity of fanning the flames of schism against the lawful shepherds. May God stir up great-hearted champions from among our princes who will stand by our Bishops!" In another letter of Ricci's to Serrao the religious were held to be more dangerous than heretics and he hoped that God would destroy all such antichrists. In Ricci's opinion Serrao did not go far enough; he especially regretted that his Neapolitan friend was not acquainted with all of Quesnel's works. Quesnel's case was not unlike that of St. Athanasius; to depart from him was to betray the sacred principles which had been damned in the Bull *Unigenitus*.²

Leopold's ecclesiastico-political innovations met with Ricci's full approval. Some of them, such as the dissolution in 1783, in spite of their popularity, of the lay societies and

¹ VENTURI, *Leopoldo*, 79 seq.

² *Ibid.*, 80 n., "Athanasius" is probably a mistake for "Augustine".

confraternities in Pistoia, were carried out at his instigation. Two years later this measure was extended by the Government to the whole of Tuscany. It is true that some of these associations seemed no longer to be serving any useful purpose and that others were in need of reform, but all were dissolved in spite of the fact that many were still discharging their religious and charitable functions as fully as ever and were in great favour with the people. In Florence only nine, including the famous *Misericordia*, were saved by the Archbishop, Martini. The lay societies were replaced by welfare associations devoid of any religious character; they were expressly forbidden to have their own chapels. All the altars in the oratories of the dissolved confraternities were destroyed by order of the Government. It was forbidden to celebrate divine service in private chapels or to pay honour to the numerous street-shrines of the Madonna and the saints, where the people used to sing their lovely evening-hymns (*laudi*). When they tried to keep up their old custom of seeking consolation at these shrines in times of distress the police came to disperse them. The police also forced their way into the churches and interfered with the relics and the images of the Madonna and the saints that had been venerated for ages.¹ Both this ordinance² and the suppression of the religious houses deeply embittered the people; already by the beginning of 1783 there was an actual insurrection when the convent at Fojano was suppressed.³

Such disturbances as these did not deter Ricci in the least. On the contrary, he showed the pride he took in these innovations by having his villa at Igno, which was restored in 1783, decorated with paintings which were rightly described by Consalvi as "scandalous". They were a glorification of the suppression of the Inquisition and the Dominican convents.

¹ ZOBEL, II., 390 *seqq.*; REUMONT, II., 170 *seqq.* For the confraternities, *cf.* our account, vol. V, 35 *seqq.*

² ARNETH, *Joseph II. und Leopold I.*, 188.

³ Brunati's *report to Colloredo, of February 5, 1783 (State Archives, Vienna).

In the main room were portraits of Quesnel, Arnould, and other Jansenists, along with Joseph II., who was depicted in the act of tearing into pieces a painting of the Sacred Heart ! There were also other pictures attacking the devotion to the Sacred Heart and one disparaging Pius VI.¹

It was evident that the Grand Duke, advised by Ricci, was determined to complete the ecclesiastical revolution in Tuscany that had been begun. There thus arose the plan of abolishing the rights—or “ usurpations ”, as they were called—of the Holy See and of inducing the other Bishops to sanction the ecclesiastical innovations.² Although in 1786 most of the Tuscan Bishops had clearly signified their adherence to the Holy See and to their oaths of loyalty, Leopold I. still hoped to persuade them that complete independence of Rome was worth striving for and was in conformity with the true ecclesiastical constitution. If he succeeded, schism would be attained and the Church in Tuscany could be transformed in doctrine and worship also into a Jansenist State Church, which could be presented to the faithful Catholics as having been approved by their Bishops.³ The danger that was threatening in Tuscany was fully appreciated in Rome but every effort was made to avoid an open conflict with the Grand Duke. For the time, only Ricci's innovations were opposed in the Papally-sponsored *Giornale ecclesiastico*.⁴

The Government, after addressing a circular letter, dated August 2nd, 1785, to all the Bishops of Tuscany, inviting them to hold diocesan synods,⁵ sent them on January 26th, 1786, a plan for reform, consisting of fifty-seven articles, and

¹ BEANI, 85, 135 seq.

² As opposed to ZOBİ (II., 396 seq.), VENTURI (*Leopoldo*, 241 seq.) shows that the plan originated with the Grand Duke. Ricci was deeply involved in it but was not, as GENDRY thinks (I., 462), the actual instigator. In 1786 Leopold recommended the project to his brother Joseph II. (*v. Hist. Zeitschr.*, XL., 451 seqq.).

³ That these were the aims of the synod is admitted also by SCADUTO (*Stato e Chiesa sotto Leopoldo I.*, p. 201).

⁴ Brunati's *report to Colloredo, August 3, 1785 (*loc. cit.*).

⁵ ZOBİ, II., 398.

asked them for their opinions on it.¹ Along with much that was good and unexceptionable this programme included numerous proposals that were open to criticism, for example the arbitrary reform of the breviary and the missal, the administration of the sacraments in the vernacular, the removal of all images and votive tablets from the churches, which in rural parishes were to have only one altar, the restriction of processions, the prohibition of all panegyrics of the saints, the pettifogging regulation of the number of candles to be used for the exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, and the like. Far more serious was the proposal that every cleric should be obliged to propound the teaching of St. Augustine. That by this was meant the Jansenist doctrine of grace is quite clear from the additional proposal that the parish priests should be supplied with such books as Quesnel's *Refléxions morales* and the *Morale* of the Jansenist Tamburini. Not only heretical but also schismatical tendencies were pursued in this programme for reform. It was stated in the introduction that as it was of supreme importance for the episcopate to recover its rights as against the usurpations of Rome, the Bishops were to consider which of the dispensations at present reserved by the Roman Curia were to be deemed to have been wrested from the lawful episcopal jurisdiction and were to be restored to it.

The replies of the Tuscan Bishops² turned out to be very different from what Leopold I. had expected. Ricci, who already on his own authority had put into practice in his diocese much of what had been proposed,³ naturally agreed with everything most heartily. In fact, he wanted even more, such as the prohibition of the feast of the Sacred Heart, which stank of the Nestorian heresy, and the closing of all conventual

¹ *Ibid.*, Docum. 141 *seqq.*

² "Punti ecclesiastici compilati e trasmessi da S. Altezza Reale a tutti gli arcivescovi e vescovi della Toscana e loro rispettive risposte" (v. the first volume of the *Atti e Decreti del concilio dioc. di Pistoja*, 46 *seqq.*, German translation in WOLF, V., 47 *seqq.*). The *originals in the State Archives, Florence. ZOB, II., 400, n. 6.

³ ZOB, II., 401.

churches on feast days—a measure which he had already effected at Pistoia and Prato. At the beginning of 1786 some religious houses in Prato were closed, and in July, on Ricci's orders, a number of altars in the cathedrals of Pistoia and Prato were taken down.¹ The only Bishops to associate themselves with Ricci were those of Colle and Chiusi-Pienza, who on some points went even further in their demands than the Grand Duke. All the other Bishops of Tuscany rejected a plan which clearly had been conceived almost entirely in the school of the Jansenists.²

Archbishop Martini of Florence, the first to hand in his opinion to the Grand Duke, observed that a diocesan synod might not arrogate to itself the right to make alterations in the missal; when some French Bishops had altered the breviary there had been disturbances in the churches. The holding of services in the vernacular he rejected absolutely, not only because it was a departure from the consistent and universal usage of the Western Church but also because in translation from a dead to a living language the meaning of the original words might easily suffer a change. Moreover every living language was subject to arbitrary changes, not to speak of the difficulties offered by the various dialects. Martini also objected to the removal of altars from village churches; it would cause a dangerous disturbance and would disfigure the churches. As for the number of candles to be used, the poor village-churches were not likely to use too many in any case, and it would be absurd to limit in niggardly fashion the number of candles to be lit on the altars of a fine city like Florence. Equally sound objections were brought against many other proposals and lastly the Archbishop expressed his strong disapproval of the action taken against the religious houses which, it was clear, were to be done away with one by one.

The opinion submitted by Bishop Mancini of Fiesole was

¹ GENDRY, I., 459, 461.

² This is WOLF's opinion (V., 45 *seq.*). On the question of the Bishops of Colle and Chiusi-Pienza holding similar views to Ricci's, *cf.* GENDRY, I., 459 *seqq.*

remarkable for its clearly enunciated principles. One must be careful, he wrote, to distinguish between the abuse of a thing and the thing itself; whatever was observed by the whole Church could not be an abuse. In his defence of the rights of the Holy See the Bishop observed prophetically that those writers who contested the authority of the Pope also aimed at destroying that of the princes. While fully acknowledging the excellence of the teaching of St. Augustine Mancini pointed out that in the writings of this Church Father there were a number of passages which were either his purely private opinions or the ephemeral notions of his time. As the Church had never made any pronouncement as to the true significance of these sayings, it was wrong to present them as dogmas. Besides, Augustine had written so much on the most diverse subjects that even the heretics had cited him as an authority. If therefore young priests were to be made acquainted with Augustine's writings without a careful selection being made, it was to be feared that the same scandals and cleavages would come about as were even now rending part of the French Church. Many other proposals, too, were declared by Mancini to be unwise, unnecessary, or superfluous.

The same line was taken by Archbishops Angelo Franceschi of Pisa and Tiberio Borghesi of Siena. The latter recalled the attempt to reform the Church that had been made in the sixteenth century, resulting only in schism and heresies. He remarked with justifiable acerbity that how a Bishop could even contemplate the alteration of the breviary or missal was beyond his comprehension, as this right had been expressly reserved to the Pope by the Council of Trent. The list of books which the Government proposed to distribute among the parochial clergy also underwent his stringent criticism. Most of them, he said, had been forbidden by the Pope or the Roman Congregations, so that no Bishop could recommend them without being a traitor to the truth or his own conscience. This applied, above all, to Quesnel's *Réflexions*, which had been condemned by the Pope, after long deliberation, in several decrees and constitutions, especially, with the agreement of the whole Church, in the Bull *Unigenitus*. The

introduction into Tuscany of Quesnel's work would produce the same disorder as had come about in France.

The Bishops of Soana and Cortona expressed themselves more timorously, and harsh words were avoided also by the Bishops of Arezzo, Pescia, and Volterra, though they, too, betrayed their strong misgivings. A similar attitude was taken by the Bishops of San Sepolcro and San Miniato. The replies of the Bishops of Grosseto and Massa showed great decisiveness and criticism; by them the monarchic character of the Church's constitution was displayed in bold relief. This was also done by Bishop Pecci of Montalcino, who pointed out that most of the books proposed as suitable for reading by the parochial clergy ought not to be recommended, as they had been rejected by the whole Church. This was especially true, he held, of Quesnel's *Réflexions*. The real aims pursued by Leopold and Ricci were fearlessly exposed by this Bishop, and his opinion contained some pointed observations. He alluded, for instance, to the trick of referring only to the Roman Curia instead of to the Holy See. In a letter to the Grand Duke which he sent him in advance of his considered opinion, Pecci said quite fearlessly and frankly that His Royal Highness, overburdened with other business, had unfortunately been caught in the toils of those who were working for a rupture with Mother Church, the Holy Roman See, the representative of Christ. Though Ricci was not mentioned by name, so searching a light was thrown on his activities that it was obvious that Pecci regarded him as the chief instigator of the attacks on the authority of the Holy See. The danger, he said, was great and was more and more threatening every day, for heresies which had been condemned by the Church were being defended in print with unbelievable insolence in Tuscany and were being pressed on the faithful in the guise of truths. Writers condemned by the Church as disseminators of heresy were extolled as pious men and their works were presented as sound doctrine. It was sought to bring the Holy See into contempt by describing it as the usurper of the sacred rights of the Bishops and princes. The language used thereby was frequently spiteful and malicious, and the facts were so

falsified as easily to mislead the simple-minded. This was the object of the popular religious brochures that were being distributed all over Tuscany, and of the new Jansenistic catechism. Ricci's journalistic creation, the *Annali ecclesiastici*, was taken to task by Pecci with particular severity. "I must declare that these annals are an outrage to Catholic thought and a scandal to the whole Church. Every decent person must be seriously disturbed when he sees distributed with impunity in a Catholic country a periodical in which piety, the Catholic truth, and God's religion are openly mocked and heretical religion and doctrine are extolled. On the pretext of reforming the Church and under the cloak of a sound doctrine and strict morality, on which every heretical sect, in its wild fanaticism, has always prided itself, every divine and human right, however sacred, is being trampled underfoot and the Church of Christ is being outraged. Your Royal Highness ! The Catholic religion, the Church of Christ, suppressed and humiliated in Tuscany in the most dangerous manner, lies a suppliant at the foot of the throne of one of her beloved sons and implores the protection of Your Royal Highness, lest she be utterly prostrated under the blows of her enemies."

Pecci's eloquent appeal had no effect. Although there was not the slightest doubt that the grand ducal plan of reform was firmly opposed by the majority of the Tuscan Bishops, it was not abandoned.¹ Encouraged and supported by the Grand Duke, Ricci issued a pastoral letter on July 31st, 1786, summoning a diocesan synod for September 18th. His statement in the letter that he was issuing the summons in compliance with a request made of him by the Pope two years previously could have deceived no one, for from his episcopal title at the head of the letter he had omitted the universally adopted phrase, "by the grace of the Apostolic See".²

¹ Even Zobi (II., 402) remarks that this would have been the wisest course.

² Ricci, *Memorie*, I., 490 ; Zobi, II., 404 ; Venturi, *Leopoldo*, 247. The original printed text of the pastoral letter in Cod. Vat. 8467, p. 6, of the Vatican Library.

The opening of the synod, which was awaited in Rome with the utmost anxiety,¹ took place on the appointed day, under Ricci's presidency, in the church of S. Leopoldo.² There were 234 participants, of whom 171 were parish priests and thirteen were religious.³ Among those who took part in the deliberations were some who did not belong to the diocese of Pistoia or to Tuscany. These included three theologians from Pavia who were inclined towards Josephism. One of them, Tamburini, well known for his Jansenistic views, was appointed "Promotor" of the synod.⁴ He, as Ricci remarked in his memoirs, was to be the leading spirit of this enterprise against "the old machine of Papal monarchy".⁵

The opening speech showed quite clearly what was afoot, and the resolutions passed at the third session, on grace, predestination, and moral principles, removed all doubts, for they were framed entirely in the spirit of the Jansenists. The Gallican articles of 1682 were also adopted at this session. The same spirit prevailed during the rest of the proceedings. All the innovations in the grand ducal plan of reform were approved, and on many points the synod went even further in this direction. To ensure uniformity in religious instruction Gourlin's *General Catechism*, which had been banned by the Apostolic See, and the Jansenist Montazet's *Little Catechism* were prescribed, and the clergy were recommended to read Quesnel's *Réflexions Morales*. As for the religious Orders, the synod proposed that in future only one monastic Order should be allowed in the Church and this could be made to conform to the Rule of St. Benedict modified in accordance with the spirit of the times. No town was to have more than one

¹ Brunati's *reports to Colloredo, August 30 and September 9, 1786 (*loc. cit.*).

² An engraving of the session, by C. Lasinio, is in Cod. Vat. 8467 (*loc. cit.*).

³ ZOBEL, II., 405.

⁴ BEANI, 95; B. RICCI, *Il maggior teologo giansenista d'Italia P. Tamburini*, in the *Scuola catt.*, 1921, 226 seqq.; JEMOLO, 268 seqq.

⁵ RICCI, *Memorie*, I., 490 seq.

religious house, which was always to be in the loneliest and remotest situation. Perpetual vows were no longer to be demanded or accepted. All these proposals were to be confirmed by a national council.¹

A supporter of these reforming aims remarks that the almost unanimous passing of such resolutions by a gathering of over two hundred Catholic priests and the making of such proposals for the further improvement of the Church are among the most amazing things that have ever happened.² The miracle, however, is easily explained: the Grand Duke in his villa at Castello took good care that all dissentients were kept away from the synod. Further, police measures were taken to prevent any kind of disturbance. Leopold had the course of the proceedings reported to him daily, and on their conclusion he congratulated Ricci on the result and invited him and Tamburini to dine at his table.³ A letter of his to Ricci shows how firmly he believed that the desired goal had now been reached. At the national synod their opponents would confess the error of their ways and would agree to the measures to be taken against Rome, especially if the meeting was held in Florence, where it would be under his supervision. He also hoped that the holding of a national synod would prevent the holding of diocesan ones where the feeling would be hostile to his plans.⁴

The actual situation was appraised by Ricci with far more acumen than by his master. The enlightened priests, he explained to him in a memorandum, were still in a minority everywhere, and most of the Tuscan Bishops were by no means inclined to throw off the yoke of Rome. Unwilling though he was to reject the plan of a national assembly, he deemed it

¹ *Atti e Decreti del conc. dioc. di Pistoia*, 2 vols. Cf. *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, X., 35 *seqq.* The proposal about the Orders is dismissed by DÖLLINGER (*Kirchengeschichte*, II., 2, 843) as quite absurd.

² WOLF, V., 258.

³ RICCI, *Memorie*, I., 493 *seqq.*; REUMONT, II., 179; VENTURI, *Leopoldo*, I., 247 *seq.*

⁴ RICCI, *Memorie*, I., 501.

necessary first to have diocesan synods held by the Bishops who were in favour of reform. Similar assemblies that might be held by Bishops who had other views should be forcibly prevented by the Government. Meanwhile, the whole country was to be flooded with "good", namely anti-Roman, literature, such as the *Synodus Florentina*, in which Sixtus IV. was described as the Vicar of the Devil, and the proceedings of the Synod of Pistoia were to be promulgated by means of printed copies. Besides preparing public opinion in this manner, Ricci devised other means of ensuring the success of the national synod. Florence did not seem to him to be the right place for it, if only because the Papal nuncio was there to ruin everything.¹ Meanwhile, Ricci went on with his innovations, the suppression of religious houses, the demolition of altars, and the distribution of translations of French books that had been put on the Index.²

In spite of the misgivings voiced by Senator Gianni about the advisability of holding a national council, Leopold could not bring himself to abandon the idea. He paid heed to the warnings only to the extent of calling a preparatory meeting of the Tuscan episcopate in March 1787.³ This was attended by three Archbishops and fourteen Bishops, all accompanied by their consultors. The meeting opened on April 23rd, 1787, in the Palazzo Pitti. The deliberations showed unmistakably that the Grand Duke had been courting disappointment. Except for the Bishops of Pistoia, Colle, and Chiusi, all the prelates rejected the Jansenist and Gallican innovations of the Synod of Pistoia. A deep impression was created by the firm stand taken against them by the prominent canonist and teacher of constitutional law, Giovan Maria Lampredi, a professor at Pisa and consultor to the Archbishop there.⁴

¹ *Ibid.*, 502-512; VENTURI, *Leopoldo*, 87, 250. For the *Synodus Florentina*, cf. our account, vol. IV., 319.

² Brunati's report to Colloredo, February 14, 1787 (State Archives, Vienna).

³ ZOBEL, II., 413, and Docum. 170 seqq.

⁴ *Atti dell' Assemblea degli arcivescovi e vescovi tenuta in Firenze 1787*, 7 vols. Firenze, 1788. Vol. 7 of the *Atti*, the "Storia

During the deliberations an incident occurred that should have shown even the blindest of Ricci's adherents to what his reckless anticlerical policy was leading. It was an outburst of popular exasperation that had long been brewing.

In Pistoia the celebration of Mass in Italian had already provoked expressions of real Tuscan scorn, but it was Ricci's burning of doubtful relics and his demolishing of altars that really excited the fury of the people.¹ In the afternoon of May 18th, 1787, it was rumoured in Prato that Ricci was about to remove a relic that had been venerated for centuries: the girdle of the Blessed Virgin, preserved in the Cappella della Cintola, a chapel in the cathedral that had been richly decorated by artists of the early Renaissance. The rumour was not without foundation, for Ricci had been thinking of having the relic removed by the Grand Duke. The inhabitants of Prato had already had to witness the profanation of the church of S. Maria in Castello, where the town council used to assemble in the thirteenth century and from which a painting by Fra Bartolommeo had been taken and sold for a few *scudi*. A similar fate now seemed to be threatening the girdle of the Blessed Virgin; to prevent the profanation and to protect the altar from being taken down a large crowd poured into the cathedral. On Sunday, May 20th, they were reinforced by the peasants of the neighbourhood, who came bearing weapons. At eleven o'clock that evening the alarm-bell was rung and the riot began. Ricci's episcopal throne and his armorial bearings were smashed to pieces, his palace was wrecked, and the missals, breviaries, and prayers that he had composed were burned. The Grand Duke had the rising suppressed by the military, the participants severely punished, and a search made for the ringleaders.² The latter, it was suspected,

dell' Assemblea de' vescovi della Toscana" was written by the Jansenist R. Tanzini, who, however, retracted under Pius VII. (*v. Civ. catt.*, 1858, Nos. 193 and 207). ZONI, II., 416 *seqq.*, 429; VENTURI, *Leopoldo*, 251.

¹ CORSI, 108, 150 *seqq.*; ZONI, II., 409 *seqq.*; FR. HIRSCH in the *Hist. Zeitschr.*, XL., 458.

² For the "Madonna riots" see BECCATINI, II., 207; TAVANTI,

would be found in the Franciscan and the Capuchin convents, and although there was not the slightest evidence for this, both convents were suppressed. In letters to his brother, Leopold maintained that the rising had been instigated by the Pope and his Court, but again no evidence of this was ever furnished.¹

In spite of the extreme annoyance caused him by this incident, Ricci showed considerable prudence in advocating lenient measures to be taken against the agitators. But the hope he had of imposing his ideas on the episcopal assembly was utterly frustrated. On taking the part of the Bishop of Chiusi, who had been sharply rebuked by Pius VI. on account of his innovations,² he found that he was almost alone in his attitude. Only two Bishops supported him, whereas fourteen opposed him.³

It was at this juncture at last that Leopold realized that the hopes he had placed in a national council were futile. He had the episcopal assembly, which had sat again on June 5th, dissolved and for his own justification he had all the relevant records printed. But from now on, in spite of all the former talk of the necessity of the council, there was no mention of a national synod.⁴ Without the Pope having to speak a word the Tuscan episcopate had frustrated the

II., 11 *seqq.*; ZOBİ, II., 417 *seqq.*; REUMONT, II., 183 *seqq.*; GUASTI, *G. Silvestri*, 28; CORSI, *Fogli volanti*, Venezia, 1888, 150 *seqq.*; GENDRY, I., 471 *seq.*; BEANI, 99 *seqq.*, 101, 145.

¹ This is also admitted by BROSCHE (II., 171). Leopold's assertions in WOLF, *Leopold II. und Maria Christine*, 25 *seq.*

² The Briefs to the Bishop of Chiusi in the *Atti dell' Assemblea*, II., 74 *seqq.*, 80 *seqq.* In Cod. Vat. 8467, p. 301, is a *letter from Bishop L. Bonamici of Volterra to the Grand Duke, dated May 23, 1787, protesting against the accusation of having assisted in the disturbances.

³ ZOBİ, II., 424 *seqq.*, 427.

⁴ *Cod. Vat. 8467, p. 300, *loc. cit.*; REUMONT, II., 185; VENTURI, *Leopoldo*, 252. SCADUTO in his *Stato e Chiesa* (201) says that the episcopal assembly was the worst blunder made by Leopold I. in his dealings with the Church.

attempt to set the country in confusion by means of heresy and schism.

Ricci's relations with Leopold I. were no longer so harmonious as before but his reputation was still sufficiently great for his ruler to commission him in November, 1787, with the drafting of a law for a new ecclesiastical constitution in Tuscany,¹ whereby in ecclesiastical affairs the Grand Ducal Government was to take the place of the Pope.² It was not till October 2nd, 1788, that the Grand Duke consented to ratify the Pistoian resolutions, and even then he made the reservation that he was not approving the doctrine they expressed but was merely permitting the execution of the disciplinary regulations. This measure, which came far too late for Ricci, could only strengthen the Pope in his determination to take action against so open a challenge.³ Preparatory steps were taken by Rome in the autumn of 1787 in the form of prohibiting the *Gazzetta* and the *Annali di Firenze*.⁴ This coincided with a quarrel with the Grand Duke about the occupation of the bishopric of Pontremoli.⁵ In the following autumn the tension was increased⁶ by the Grand Duke's abolition of the jurisdiction of the nunciature in Florence and his transference to the episcopal curias of the right to decide cases which had hitherto been reserved to the nunciature. Henceforward, the nuncio was to be nothing more than a diplomat. Pius VI., who had borne the former measures in silence, now had energetic protests made in Florence through his Secretary of State, Boncompagni. The Tuscan Government was in a quandary as to what reply to make. One was drawn up but was never dispatched. The nuncio Ruffo also protested,

¹ Reprinted in RICCI, *Memorie*, II., 310 seqq.

² CORSI, 99 seqq.

³ REUMONT, II., 180.

⁴ VENTURI, *Leopoldo*, 258, n. 2. Brunati's *report to Colloredo, November 3, 1787 (State Archives, Vienna).

⁵ Pius VI. opposed the nomination of the Grand Duke's man, Mgr. Bernardini (v. Brunati's *report of November 24, 1787, *ibid.*).

⁶ *Corresp. des Direct.*, XV., 287.

without effect, against the Government's confiscation of the records of the tribunal attached to the Florentine nunciature.¹ Pius VI. forbade the Dataria to issue dispensations that had not been legalized by the nuncio, whereupon Leopold ordered the Bishops to grant dispensations without referring to Rome.² The situation was further worsened by the fact that the Pope's forbearance with Ricci was now coming to an end.

At the beginning of 1789, while Leopold I. was still extending his protection to Ricci and was banishing a priest who had written against him,³ a Congregation of Cardinals was meeting to examine the resolutions of Pistoia. Ricci immediately besought the Grand Duke not to relax his "habitual and edifying firmness" and to lodge protests against the interference of a foreign and incompetent Court.⁴ Leopold granted this request to the extent of demanding an explanation in a note of September 30th, 1789. Pius VI. replied that nothing would be done in a hurry and that the verdict of the Congregation would be communicated to the Grand Duke. At the same time the Pope justified the step he was taking by pointing out that as the Supreme Pastor of the Church and the principal guardian of the Faith he deemed it his duty to have a close examination made of the Pistoian resolutions.⁵

So radical a change came over the situation on the death of Joseph II. on February 20th, 1790, and Leopold's departure for Vienna shortly afterwards to take over the Government, that it was decided in Rome to withhold action against Ricci until conditions in Tuscany presented a more definite picture.

Before his departure Leopold set up a regency to which he imparted strict and precise instructions regarding the conduct of ecclesiastical as well as civil affairs. No concession was to be made to Rome in jurisdictional matters, the exequatur was to be insisted on unconditionally for all Papal Briefs, the abolition of the nunciature tribunal was confirmed, and he spoke of the danger that went with property in mortmain.⁶

¹ ZOBİ, II., 449 *seqq.*

³ VENTURI, *Leopoldo*, 259, *cf.* 262.

⁵ ZOBİ, III., Docum. 26-8.

² TAVANTI, II., 52.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 266.

⁶ REUMONT, II., 215.

On his way to Vienna he had a long talk with Ricci at S. Marcello, in the course of which he assured him once more of his protection and solemnly declared that no retrograde step would be taken in ecclesiastical matters.¹ But this was easier said than done. With his innovations Ricci had outraged the most sacred sentiments of the people. As soon as Leopold had left they gave full vent to their fury, firstly at Pistoia on April 24th, where it did not subside until Ricci had taken to flight, and then in the whole diocese. There were disturbances also in Leghorn and Florence; in the latter town the causes were not only ecclesiastical.²

Ricci was hoping to govern his diocese from without but this was made impossible by the dislike of him felt by most of the members of the regency.³ Nor was the Emperor Leopold able to protect him as before. The times had changed completely; they now demanded imperiously greater consideration, not only for popular feeling but also for the Holy See. In May 1791 the new Grand Duke, Ferdinand III., when passing through Pistoia and other places, could see for himself how hostile the people still were towards Ricci, for he had to witness there popular demonstrations against the absent Bishop.⁴ When the chapter of Pistoia and Prato also declared its opposition to him, Ricci had no choice but to tender his resignation to the Pope, which he did on June 3rd. Pius VI. accepted it calmly and wrote to the Grand Duke on June 13th that he hoped that Ricci's example would be followed by those who shared his views, namely the Bishops of Colle and Chiusi.⁵

In his letter of thanks to the Pope for accepting his resignation Ricci was impudent enough to assure him that "from his earliest years he had been filled with feelings of

¹ VENTURI, 268.

² ZOBİ, II., 520 *seqq.*, 525 *seqq.*; TAVANTI, II., 84 *seqq.*; REUMONT, II., 216; BEANI, 103, 147 *seq.*; VENTURI, 271 *seq.*

³ VENTURI, 269, 275; BEANI, 125 *seq.*; CORSI, 122 *seqq.*, 148.

⁴ REUMONT, II., 251; BEANI, 193 *seqq.*

⁵ BECCATINI, III., 78 *seqq.*; ZOBİ, II., 25 *seqq.*, Docum. I *seqq.*

respect and devotion to the Holy See ".¹ But Rome was not to be put off by such empty words from proceeding with the investigation into Ricci's doctrines and innovations. There was no doubt about its resulting in a severe condemnation. An historian of notably moderate views writes that the resolutions of the Synod of Pistoia " contained a denial of the authority of the Holy See, revived the Jansenistic and Gallican controversies contrary to the decisions of the Church, set themselves in opposition to the Church's doctrines in regard to the teaching about indulgences, etc., aimed at the complete transformation of monastic life by the retention of one Order only and the abolition of binding vows, prescribed arbitrary innovations in respect of discipline, divine service, the veneration of relics, religious practices, and church equipment, recommended the distribution of written works that had long been condemned by the Church, and proclaimed the most doubtful principles in the sphere of canon law and in regard to the powers of the sovereign in ecclesiastical matters. By means of this synod Scipione de' Ricci threw down the gauntlet to the Church of Rome. The Church would have had no right to the name if it had failed to call the Bishop to account ".²

For this the way was clear when death had removed the Emperor Leopold, and the Grand Duke Ferdinand III., acceding to the request of the Archbishops of Florence, Pisa, and Siena, had made a beginning with the revocation of some of the worst innovations.³ On April 9th, 1794, Pius VI.

¹ GELLI, *Appendice alle Memorie del Ricci*, II., 284 *seqq.*, and Docum. 361 *seqq.*; BEANI, 105 *seq.*

² REUMONT, II., 179. Cf. also ZEISSBERG's opinion in the *Allg. Deutsche Biographie*, XVIII., 325, and F. HIRSCH's in the *Hist. Zeitschr.*, XL., 453.

³ ZOBEL, III., 33 *seqq.* In a *Brief of October 19, 1792, Pius VI. had thanked the Grand Duke Ferdinand III. for having revoked many of the innovations, especially those that concerned the Orders, and for having prohibited harmful literature. He expressed his hope that this policy would be continued. *Epist.*, 189, Papal Secret Archives. This improvement in the Tuscan situation

informed the Grand Duke that as a result of a lengthy examination and deliberation with Bishops, theologians, and Cardinals a formal condemnation of the Pistoian resolutions as they appeared in print along with one of Ricci's pastoral letters was unavoidable. It was only out of consideration for the Grand Duke and Ricci's episcopal character that he was still withholding the verdict until he had ascertained if Ricci was willing to come and defend himself in Rome, where he would give him a kindly reception and hearing.¹

Ricci excused himself on the score of ill health. The Grand Duke, in a letter of May 16th, 1794, argued that Ricci's successor, Francesco Falchi Picchinesi, had made away with the innovations and that from the very beginning of his reign the Bishops in the other parts of the Grand Duchy had received his support. As Falchi had indirectly condemned the proceedings of Pistoia in his pastoral letter of May 12th, 1792, it would suffice to ban them through the Index, whereas a formal condemnation would inflame old sores and might disturb the peace, whose preservation was more than ever desirable in such times of stress.²

Pius replied in a long letter of August 8th, 1794, that he had reconsidered the matter but could not share the Grand Duke's view. The duke himself had admitted, he wrote, that the whole trouble had arisen from the innovations which Ricci had introduced into his diocese and that they had only ceased with his resignation. A condemnation, therefore, would only confirm the peaceful conditions that had been restored ; as the duke had said, Falchi's pastoral letter had been received with joy. Moreover, the Pistoian resolutions had appeared in Pavia in a Latin translation, they had been circulated in other countries, and the professors of Pavia were eagerly working for the triumph of the errors of Baius, Jansenius, and Quesnel,

rendered possible a settlement of the frontier disputes between the two States (Brief of February 9, 1793, *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 3, 2580 seq.).

¹ RICCI, *Memorie*, ed. Gelli, II., Docum. 388 seq.

² *Ibid.*, 389 seqq.

so that the Pope had to make a definite pronouncement. In this respect Falchi's pastoral letter was lacking in clarity. The importance of the matter did not allow of a condemnation through the Index. It was the Pope's duty to proclaim the true doctrine ; were he to keep silent now it would be said that after a long examination of the documents in the case nothing harmful had been found in them.¹

And so, on August 28th, there appeared the Bull *Auctorem Fidei*,² the text of which had probably been composed by the learned Cardinal Gerdil.³ In the preamble the complaint was made that the Pope had been visited with a fresh distress coming from a quarter where more than anywhere he expected to find support. Not in distant lands but in the heart of Italy, almost under his very eyes, Ricci, once Bishop of Pistoia and Prato, who at his consecration had promised on his solemn oath to be loyal and obedient to the Holy See, had allowed himself to be misled into introducing a number of dangerous innovations which, together with numerous errors, had been raised to the status of resolutions by the Synod of Pistoia. As Ricci, offering as excuse his delicate health, had declined to vindicate himself in Rome, the Pope would now have to fulfil his apostolic and pastoral duty, for it was not this or that diocese which was in danger ; every innovation affected the whole Church. The judgment of the Holy See on this affair was not only awaited on all sides : it had been repeatedly and urgently requested. Eighty-five tenets were then cited from the records and decrees of the synod, each one being censured

¹ *Ibid.*, II., 391-8. Zobi, who is rightly accused by REUMONT (II., 605) of "tendentiousness", shows this propensity most markedly in his account of Ricci's condemnation. He dared not reproduce this letter of Pius VI.'s, as this would have been incompatible with his appointment as official historian. How right the Pope was in pointing to the harm that was being done in other countries by the effects of the Pistoian resolutions is shown by his reference to the French translation done by the constitutional Abbé Clément (*v.* RODOLICO, 157).

² *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 2704-2726.

³ GENDRY, I., 481.

separately to avoid any possible misunderstanding. The epithet "heretical" was applied to the tenet taken from the synodal decree on grace, that of late a general obscurtion had spread over several important religious truths which formed the foundations of faith and morals, also to the assertions that the Pope derived his authority from the Church and not from Christ, and that in issuing ordinances about external discipline the Church was abusing its authority. Another assertion condemned as heretical was that the Church had no legislative or penal authority and could only demand obedience by dint of persuasion. In regard to a number of other tenets it was laid down that they were in agreement with or were closely related to assertions made by Baius and Quesnel that had already been condemned by the Church. The Bull declared to be false or equivocal the doctrines of the synod referring to the Holy Sacraments and divine services and the new regulations for ecclesiastical customs and prayers that conflicted with the consistent practice of the Church. The new proposals and ordinances for the religious Orders were also rightly condemned. Finally, the approval of the Gallican articles of 1682 and their surreptitious insertion into the decree on faith was found to be utterly wrong and the judgments on these articles given by Innocent XI. and Alexander VIII. were confirmed.

The importance of the Bull, which the Spanish nuncio regarded as a remarkably clear and precise annihilation of the innovators,¹ was not lessened by the ban on it issued in Naples, Venice, Spain, and the German Empire as well as in Tuscany.² The attacks made on it by Bishop Solaro of Noli and the canonist Le Plat of Louvain were effectively countered by Cardinal Gerdil and the Dominican Filippo Anfossi.³ Ricci

¹ *Ibid.*

² Ricci, *Memorie*, ed. Gelli, II., App. 296.

³ GERDIL, *Esame dei motivi dell' opposizione di Mgr. Vescovo di Noli*, in *Opere*, XIV., and *Osservazione sopra la risposta data da Mgr. Vescovo di Noli*, *ibid.*, XV. Cf. GENDRY, I., 482; ANFOSSI, O.S.D., *Risposta alle lettere del Sig. Le Plat*, Roma, 1805, 2 vols. Cf. CAPPELLETTI, *Chiese d'Italia*, XIII., 520 seq. In 1797 Solaro wrote to the assembly of the constitutional Bishops in Paris that

persisted in his errors despite the strenuous efforts made by Martini, the Archbishop of Florence, to make him change his mind.¹ How far he was from doing this is shown by his correspondence with the constitutional clergy in France, Grégoire in particular. Ricci and his friends hoped that the Revolution would bring the Church back to the simplicity of its first centuries. For this reason they desired the decay of the temporal power of the Pope, for, as Ricci wrote in October 1796, the triumph of the faith was impossible so long as the successor of the poor fisherman Peter remained the successor of the greatness of the Cæsars. It was not till 1805 that the various attempts to induce Ricci to submit resulted in his signing a statement that he submitted to the judgment contained in the Bull of 1794. On sending it to Pius VII. Ricci wrote in typically Jansenistic fashion that he was sure that he had not held any opinions other than those defined in the Bull of Pius VI., and for the sake of the truth he felt himself obliged to declare that he had never believed or stated the propositions of the synod in the sense that had rightly been condemned by the Bull. He was ready at any time to withdraw any word or words which might have caused misunderstanding.² Unfortunately, Ricci's letters to Grégoire and others and, above all, his memoirs, show that this theologically uncertain and disingenuous man was even at this point still clinging to his Jansenistic *arrière-pensées*.³

Of consistently strict morality so far as he himself was concerned but a proud and unruly spirit, like Savonarola, Ricci was deserving of the judgment passed by Cardinal Newman on the fiery Dominican: "He presumed; he

the Pope "contra fas moremque maiorum Pistojsensis concilii acta et decreta damnavit", etc. (*ibid.*, 521). Even in 1810 he was suppressing the Mass and breviary of Gregory VII. (*ibid.*, 522).

¹ REUMONT, II., 253.

² RODOLICO, 129 *seqq.*, 135 *seqq.*, 139 *seqq.*, 141 *seq.* Cf. *Studi dedic. a P.C. Falletti*, Bologna, 1915, 198 *seqq.* The letters to Grégoire in DE POTTER, III., 119 *seqq.*

³ REUMONT, II., 254 *seq.*; DE POTTER, III., 33 *seqq.*; HERGENRÖTHER, IV.⁶, 206; RODOLICO, 148.

exalted himself against a power which none can assail without misfortune. . . . Reform is not wrought out by disobedience.”¹ But whereas Savonarola retained his faith in all its purity the Bishop of Pistoia departed widely from the doctrines of the Catholic Church,² which rendered his attempts to remove abuses utterly hopeless. His activity, so far from being constructive, was everywhere the opposite. That he and his protector, Leopold I., nevertheless believed, or tried to make others believe, that they were Catholics, merely showed the confusion of their ideas. Leopold’s religion differed in essentials from that of the Supreme Head of the Church,³ though it should be said in extenuation of his conduct that he had grown up under the influence of Febronian canonists and the freemason Van Swieten.⁴ That Leopold, who lived an immoral life,⁵ was a strange sort of person to reform the

¹ *Sermons on Various Occasions* (The Mission of St. Philip Neri). See our account, vol. VI, 53. Cf. also CANTÙ, *Eretici*, III., 484.

² BEANI, 79 *seqq.*, 82 *seqq.*

³ CORSI, 93 *seqq.* This is also admitted by VENTURI (*Leopoldo*, 45) when discussing the “confession of faith” made by Leopold in a letter to Maria Christine (WOLF, 84) on January 25, 1790, when, in view of the Revolution, it seriously behoved the Grand Duke to make a show of correctness in Church affairs. He promised in this letter to “uphold the Catholic and Apostolic Roman religion, and to live and die in it”. “The Synod of Pistoia,” he continued, “contains only the recognition of the Gallican articles of which there has never been any suspicion of Jansenism.” The further observation that the Roman Curia had been examining the resolutions of the Synod for the past two years but had found nothing adverse to say about them was (as is brought out by REUMONT, II., 179) hardly honest, “as he must have known how the matter stood, seeing that there had been some correspondence about the synod a year before, leaving no doubt that the condemnation was merely a matter of time.” Cf. F. HIRSCH’S verdict in the *Hist. Zeitschr.*, XL., 453.

⁴ *Allg. Deutsche Biogr.*, XVIII., 322; REUMONT, II., 76; VENTURI, 44.

⁵ REUMONT, II., 369; *Lettere di Pietro e Aless. Verri*, p.p. Casati, IV., Milano, 1879-1881, 384.

Church, was overlooked by Ricci, who was usually so strict ; even an ally of this kind was welcome to him in his fight against " Babylon " and the " Papal monarchy ".

(3)

While, on the one hand, Pius VI. had to suffer the most galling incursions into the purely ecclesiastical sphere on the part of the northern and southern neighbours of the Papal States and for some time had to fear a similar injustice in Poland,¹ he was also able to rejoice in the successful development of the rapprochement with the Holy See that had been initiated in the duchy of Parma by Duke Ferdinand in the pontificate of Clement XIV. This had led to a complete understanding, to the restoration of the Inquisition, and to the suppression of Jansenism.² A similarly retroactive movement took place in Portugal, where the Church had been most ruthlessly ravaged under Pombal's despotic sway. Here a

¹ The nuncio Garampi had already reason to fear for the rights of the Church (THEINER, *Mon. Pol.*, IV., 612 *seqq.*), still more so his successor Giovanni Archetti, in autumn, 1775. Archetti had been nominated in a *Brief to the King of Poland dated October 31, 1775 (*Epist.*, 175, Papal Secret Archives). On *July 27, 1776, Pius VI. recommended the Catholic interests to the Archbishop of Gnesen (*Epist.*, 176, *ibid.*), on *September 5, 1778, to all the Polish Bishops and to the king (*Epist.*, 177, *ibid.*), and once again to the aforesaid on *September 23, 1780 (*Epist.*, 178, *ibid.*). On *September 20, 1780, Pius VI. was able to express his satisfaction and his thanks to the king (*ibid.*) that the Diet had rejected the new statute-book elaborated by Andreas Zamoisky. This would have meant the abolition of the jurisdiction of the Papal nuncio and of all appeals to Rome, the restriction of the immunity of the clergy, hindrances placed in the way of the taking of solemn vows by religious, and finally the ordinance that all clerical litigation be decided in the last instance by mixed lay and spiritual courts and that all Papal Bulls be subject to the royal *placet* before publication (WOLF, II., 403).

² G. DREI, in *Miscellanea di studi in onore di P. C. Falletti*, Bologna, 1915, 596 *seqq.*, with passages from Pius VI.'s *letter of thanks to the Duke, dated July 5, 1780 (State Archives, Parma).

happier era opened for the Church with the succession to the throne of the pious Queen Maria (February 24th, 1777) and her consort Pedro, who shared her views. Pombal, now an old man, had to accept his dismissal and lived long enough to see the reparation of the wrong he had done to the faithful representatives of the Church. The excellent Bishop of Coimbra, Miguel da Annuniação, had been pardoned by King Joseph I. three days before the latter's death. On February 25th, 1777, the venerable confessor, the very picture of misery, was able to leave the fearful prison where he had languished for eleven years. A letter from the queen, which was widely circulated, informed him of his complete rehabilitation, and his diocese welcomed him back with enthusiasm.¹

At a consistory on May 12th, 1777, the Pope informed the Cardinals that on his death-bed King Joseph had repented and had decided to free the men who had been unjustly imprisoned, among them the Bishop of Coimbra. The Pope gave voice to his feelings in the words of St. Bernard: "Our gloom has changed to joy, for the shepherd on whom they dared to lay unholy hands returns in honour." At the same time he praised Queen Maria, who had dismissed Pombal and was trying to expiate his wrongdoing. He hoped that Portugal would now be closely joined with the Holy See and would ban the anti-Roman writings that had been spread throughout the country. He would pray for the departed king, that the punishments he had incurred might be mitigated.² Many of the ecclesiastical innovations were indeed revoked. The law-court set up by Pombal to restrict the jurisdiction of the nunciature tribunal was completely abolished,³ and provision was made at last for the Jesuits who had been driven into exile and had been deprived of all their means.⁴ As for the occupation of benefices, a concordat was drawn up as early

¹ F. DE ALMEIDA, *Hist. da Igreja em Portugal*, III., 2, 785 seqq.

² *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 330; ALMEIDA, III., 2, 789 seqq., where also will be found Pius VI.'s letter to the Bishop of Coimbra.

³ SCHÄFER, *Gesch. Portugals*, V., 571 seqq., 574.

⁴ ALMEIDA, IV., 1, 206 seq.

as July 20th, 1778, and was ratified by the Pope on September 8th.¹ Among other matters in dispute which were solved to the satisfaction of both parties were the censorship of books and the organization of the tribunal for ecclesiastical affairs.² The greatest willingness was shown by the Pope in meeting the wishes of the pious queen, especially with regard to the veneration of the most Sacred Heart of Jesus, and in allowing the military Order of Christ to reassume its former organization.³ The very difficult task of removing the abuses which had crept into the religious houses during Pombal's regime had to be left unfulfilled by the nuncio Muti, who died on August 31st, 1781. His successor, Ranuzzi, had also to attend to the repayment of the expenses in which the Pope had been involved through the deportation of the Jesuits to the States of the Church. This matter he settled to Pius VI.'s satisfaction. On his becoming Cardinal in 1785 he was succeeded by Bellisomi, the nuncio to Cologne, with the rank of pro-nuncio. Bellisomi was followed in 1795 by Bartolommeo Pacca.⁴

Pacca has left us a gloomy picture of ecclesiastical conditions in Portugal. In his view the change that set in after Pombal's downfall was neither fundamental nor far-reaching. As late as 1794 the Patriarch of Lisbon, Mendoza, and the pro-nuncio Bellisomi were still failing to obtain permission to publish the Bull against the Jansenistic Council of Pistoia, whereas the Council's proceedings, which had been condemned, were allowed free entry into the country.⁵ There was no competent leader. The queen meant well, but she had been kept away from State affairs until her accession to the throne and in 1792 she had become demented.⁶ Of a timorous nature in any case,

¹ *Bull., loc. cit.*, 509 *seqq.*

² *Bull., loc. cit.*, 761 ; GENDRY, II., 69 *seqq.*

³ GENDRY, II., 71 *seq.* ; SCHÄFER, V., 605 *seqq.* ; ALMEIDA, IV., I, 456 *seqq.*

⁴ GENDRY, II., 74 *seqq.* ; ALMEIDA, IV., 3, 273 *seqq.*, 293, 352 *seqq.* ; *cf. ibid.*, IV., I, 206 *seqq.*

⁵ PACCA, *Notizie*, xiv.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 17 *seqq.*

she had had as confessor a young Oratorian of Jansenistic convictions, Mello by name, had become obsessed with the idea of divine predestination, and was convinced that God had cast her aside for ever. Her consort, Pedro III., was intellectually a cipher¹; the royal edicts were signed by his son João,² who had not been trained as a ruler and was incapable of becoming one.³ Similarly, among the Ministers there was no outstanding intellect, and the Bishops, though of irreproachable conduct and sufficiently well equipped with knowledge, had been accustomed in Pombal's time to shudder at the very mention of his name. Even apart from this they had not been able to do much good on account of the protection afforded by the civil courts to every transgressor of the Church's laws.⁴ The source of all the evil in the ecclesiastical sphere was the university of Coimbra. The Bishop of Coimbra, Miguel da Annuniação, had been put into prison for having banned books inimical to the Faith without obtaining Pombal's permission. The chapter had then been given the order, on December 9th, 1768, to elect a vicar capitular, as the Bishop was to be looked upon as dead. The chapter obeyed and elected, in accordance with Pombal's desire, Francisco de Lemos Faria, who promptly played the part of Bishop, introduced the Catechism of Montpellier, which had been condemned in Rome, placed in the hands of the university students' textbooks which had also incurred the condemnation of the Apostolic See, and commanded that public lectures be given on Febronius's book. When Portugal was reconciled with Rome Lemos was not only not removed but was appointed by Clement XIV. as the Bishop's coadjutor, with the right of succession.

These conditions had fatal results for the whole country. All the higher clerics and all officials were trained at Coimbra and were imbued there with Jansenist and Febronian principles.⁵ Pacca thought the situation was even worse than

¹ *Ibid.*, 18.

² *Ibid.*, 17.

³ *Ibid.*, 24.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 19, 31.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 61.

in Germany, to which country also he had been the nuncio. There, too, he said, the students left the universities with their heads full of anti-clerical ideas, but written works defending religion and the Holy See were still appearing there.¹ In Portugal, on the other hand, not a single work in favour of the Papal rights had appeared in the seven years of his nunciature. The entry of foreign books was blocked by the censor,² and the Grand Inquisitor, Mello, passed no work that favoured the Holy See.³ The Catholic doctrine was taught only in some of the religious houses, where the studies were independent of the university. Thanks to their blood-relationships the religious here were maintaining the principles of the Faith and respect for the Church among the leading families of the country.⁴ The "enlightenment" had also failed to take root among the common folk but with their lack of training and education they were very liable to be seduced.⁵ It also had to be said that even among the secular and regular clergy attachment to the Holy See had grown very slack.⁶ This dated back, according to Pacca, to the time when Portugal resumed relations with the Holy See. He allowed that Clement XIV. had exerted himself on behalf of the numerous victims of the Government's injustice, but no results of his efforts had appeared on the surface. On the contrary, whereas men like Lemos Faria and Pombal's brother, Paulo, had been promoted, no one had moved a finger to release Bishop Miguel of Coimbra and many another worthy priest from prison. Rome's silence in public had had a discouraging effect on the lower ranks of the clergy and had weakened their confidence in the Apostolic See. During his time as nuncio, wrote Pacca, this wound was still unhealed.⁷

Things being thus, the nuncio's activities had to be confined to the issuing of marriage dispensations and the like.⁸ Pacca's

¹ *Ibid.*, 62.

³ *Ibid.*, 40.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 65.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 68.

² *Ibid.*, 62 *seq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 64.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 65.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 44.

effectiveness was of benefit chiefly to the Orders, the anti-clerical opposition to which consisted mainly in the acceleration of their internal decay and disorder. Pombal had severed the connexion between the Orders and their Generals in Rome, and the authority of the Superiors in Portugal had been sapped by the facility with which insubordinate subjects had been able to appeal to the civil courts and obtain favourable judgments. Another bad feature of the Portuguese situation was that the election of Superiors was no longer free, being subject to the influence exerted on behalf of certain candidates by the high and mighty. And needless to say, it was not the best type of religious which courted such influence.¹ Further, in 1789 Queen Maria had been urged to apply to the Holy See for the erection of a tribunal in Lisbon for the examination and improvement of the economic state of the religious houses. The request was granted by Pius VI. and the tribunal was thus enabled to meddle in the internal affairs of the various establishments. In Pacca's time it was keeping within bounds but his successor attributed the decay of the monasteries to the tribunal's interference.² The nuncio's hands had been tied by the recommendations of the leading nobles.³ At the reconciliation with the Holy See the Government had indeed allowed the religious to appeal to the nuncio in Lisbon instead of directly to Rome, but as the nuncio was not free to nominate the Superiors of his choice this concession worked out more to the detriment than to the benefit of the Orders.⁴

When in 1798 Pius VI. was made a prisoner and it became impossible to apply to Rome for full powers, urgent representations were made to the Portuguese prelates that now was the favourable time to recover the rights which the Pope was alleged to be withholding from them. Pacca forestalled these moves by asking and obtaining from Pius VI. quite extraordinary powers. He also managed to avoid having to show the Brief to the Government, which, owing to the unusual scope of the powers, would certainly have objected.⁵

¹ *Ibid.*, 54.

² *Ibid.*, 56 *seq.*

³ *Ibid.*, 44, 56.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 39.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 71-6.

CHAPTER IV.

THE VICISSITUDES OF THE CATHOLICS IN POLAND AND RUSSIA.

CATHERINE II.'s two-faced policy towards her Catholic subjects was continued during the pontificate of Pius VI. Towards the adherents of the Latin rite she exercised, outwardly, a so-called "tolerance", especially after the elevation of her favourite Siestrzencewicz to the episcopal see of White Russia, as this placed the ecclesiastical control of this portion of her empire in what seemed to her to be completely reliable hands.¹ Empress and Bishop were agreed on the principle of excluding foreign influence as far as possible, and by ukases of July 19th, 1779, and January 2nd, 1780, non-Russian priests of the Latin rite were forbidden to enter the country without the Bishop's permission.²

This continuity of policy was true also of Catherine's treatment of the Uniat adherents of the Greek rite, who were suppressed as firmly as ever. The conditions that Rome considered to be indispensable for the fruitful development of the Union can be seen in the instruction for the carrying out of the mission which had already been entrusted to Sagramoso by Clement XIV.³ There were four main points to be discussed: the prohibition of Catholics going over to the schismatics; the erection of two dioceses each for the Uniates and the Latins of White Russia; the guaranteeing of the unrestricted possession and unrestricted administration of all church property and the restitution of all the churches schismatized in the Ukraine since 1768, together with all

¹ See our account, XXXVIII, 403; GENDRY, I., 333 *seqq.*

² [THEINER], *Zustände*, 440.

³ "Memoria per il s. cav. Sagramoso incaricato di segrete commissioni della Santità di N.S. presso la corte di Moscovia", from Nunziat. di Polon., 316, fo. 167-187 (Papal Secret Archives), reprinted in LORET, 227 *seqq.*

former property.¹ To the detailed reasons adduced in support of these demands were attached complaints about fresh Russian attempts at schismatization by dint of encouraging mixed marriages and other infringements of the agreement, also about the unfavourable legal status of the Uniat Bishop of Polotsk as compared with that of Siestrzencewicz, the Bishop of the Latin rite. Finally, there were a number of minor desiderata and grievances: that the use of the words "mission" and "missionaries" in Russia were forbidden, that by "Catholic" often only the Latins were understood, and not the Uniats too, and that the Russian Court, like other Governments, ought to recognize an unofficial *chargé d'affaires* in Rome.²

Unfortunately, the misgivings felt by Castelli, the Prefect of the Propaganda, about the success of Sagramoso's mission³ proved to be justified. The negotiations between the emissary of Rome and the Czarina were conducted by the Russian Minister Panin in the most friendly manner⁴; Sagramoso presented two memoranda on the matter in question and was received in audience by the Czarina⁵; but the official decision of the empress which was conveyed to him under date December 24th, 1775, meant the failure of his mission.⁶ In this communication Catherine posed, as she always had done in similar situations, as the great champion of the systematic toleration of all the confessions to which her subjects belonged and she offered her own person as guarantee that this guiding principle of her policy would be strictly observed. It was then stated in the document that she was persuaded that in view of the paucity of Catholics one bishopric for each rite was ample; in any case, both were to enjoy complete freedom in ecclesiastical affairs. As for the restitutions in the Ukraine,

¹ *Ibid.*, 230. Cf. GENDRY, I., 335.

² LORET, 243 *seqq.*

³ *Ibid.*, 98.

⁴ Garampi to the Secretary of State, October 4, 1775, *ibid.*, 249 *seqq.*; cf. *ibid.*, 109.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 110 *seqq.*, 252 *seqq.*; GENDRY, I., 340.

⁶ Panin to Sagramoso, December 24, 1775, in LORET, 254 *seq.*

arrangements were being made with Poland and would be carried out by a mixed commission which would see that the parties concerned received their just deserts; Sagramoso could depend on this.

At the beginning of 1776 Sagramoso left St. Petersburg with this evasive reply, which amounted to a rejection of his demands, and he reached Warsaw after a fatiguing journey of two months.¹ By now Rome was convinced that nothing could be obtained from the Czarina by diplomatic means,² but only a few years were to pass before the opportunity was offered of coming to a close understanding.

In 1779 the Metropolitan of the Uniats, Leo Szeptycki, resident in Poland, died, and Smogorzewski, Uniat Archbishop of Polotsk in White Russia, was called to succeed him. With his acceptance of the nomination³ the Uniats under Russian rule lost their chief pastor. When Rylo, who was to succeed Smogorzewski at Polotsk, declined the honour⁴ the empress was given the welcome opportunity of prolonging indefinitely the vacancy of this see which was so important for the fate of the Russian Uniats.⁵ Her object on this occasion was similar to that which she had pursued with other means when it was a question of filling Uniat parochial vacancies: the gradual transference of the Uniats to the control of the schismatics. In accordance with a ukase of September, 1773, on the death of a Uniat priest his parish was to be asked to which rite his successor was to belong.⁶ But the Uniats being excluded from positions on the local board on which the vote depended, by this apparently legal means many pastoral offices were

¹ Garampi to the Secretary of State, March 27, 1776, *ibid.*, 255 *seqq.*

² *Ibid.*, 115.

³ [THEINER], 295; LIKOWSKI, I., 194 *seqq.*; GENDRY, I., 353.

⁴ [THEINER], *loc. cit.* At the same time Rylo answered a call to the episcopal see of Przemyśl (LIKOWSKI, I., 197).

⁵ By a ukase of July 13, 1780, Catherine set up a consistory of three members as administrators (LORET, 162-7). For Catherine's visit to Polotsk, *v.* GENDRY, I., 355.

⁶ [THEINER], 294.

transferred to schismatics, and very frequently the parishes as well.

During the four years' vacancy of the see of Polotsk over a hundred thousand adherents of the Greek rite were detached in this way from the Church of Rome.¹ There was even talk of the empress filling the vacant see with a schismatic Bishop.² Pius VI., intervening at the right moment, managed to prevent this by a polite but firmly worded note of September 16th, 1780, whereat the Czarina again talked a great deal about the ecclesiastical *status quo* being guaranteed by treaty.³ Nor did she neglect this opportunity of expressing, as if by way of a counter-demand, a desire of her own which she had been cherishing for a long time : Siestrzencewicz was to be an Archbishop, his see of Mohilev was to be raised to an archbishopric, and he himself was to be invested with the pallium. It looked as if the Czarina was making the occupation of the see of Polotsk dependent on the fulfilment of this wish.⁴

An important factor in the situation was that the new nuncio to Warsaw, Archetti, who had come into close connexion with Siestrzencewicz at the beginning of 1781, when the question of the Jesuits in Russia was being settled, supported the empress's request in an exhaustive argument submitted to the Cardinal Secretary of State. He deemed it inadvisable to appoint Siestrzencewicz as an Archbishop *in partibus* only, as the separation of the Russian Uniats from the Polish Metropolitan was to be welcomed in any case.⁵ However, a Papal communication of October 27th, 1781, did not bring the empress the complete fulfilment of all her wishes,⁶ whereupon, at the end of January 1782, with characteristic ruthlessness, she issued on her own account a

¹ *Ibid.*, 296.

² LORET, 169.

³ The Pope's letter in [THEINER], 296 *seqq.*, the Czarina's reply of December 31, 1780, *ibid.*, 299 *seqq.* Cf. LORET, 170 *seq.*; GENDRY, I., 359 *seq.*, 366 *seqq.*

⁴ Pallavicini to Archetti, February 17, 1781, in LORET, 287 *seq.*

⁵ Archetti to Pallavicini, March 28, 1781, *ibid.*, 291 *seqq.*

⁶ GENDRY, I., 387 *seqq.*

ukase setting up the archbishopric of Mohilev.¹ The Pope was merely informed of the accomplished fact, in a letter of February 10th.²

This arbitrary action of the Russian despot naturally aroused indignation in Rome and in the autumn of 1782 Archetti was provided with a detailed instruction which entrusted him again with the negotiations on the subject. These were to be conducted through Stackelberg, the Russian ambassador to Warsaw, as the Pope considered it purposeless and undignified to make a personal appeal to the empress for the third time.³

The main object of all the discussions, Archetti was informed in his instruction, was the occupation of the see of Polotsk by a Uniat. In the erection of a Latin archbishopric at Mohilev, in the heart of a schismatic empire, Rome acquiesced, though it had its doubts about the limitless extent of the diocese, stretching as it did from the Baltic to China, which was most unusual. Further, in the existing circumstances, the person of the Archbishop-elect would be under suspicion until he had made satisfaction for his former errors, in particular his pastoral letter of June 29th, 1779. The question of satisfaction, therefore, would have to be discussed in detail with Stackelberg. Perhaps, in spite of all the difficulties that would probably arise, another personality, Benislowski, who had been designated as the suffragan of Mohilev, would be more suitable as the highest ecclesiastical dignitary of the Russian Catholics of the Latin rite. But, lest the issue be endangered, not too obstinate a resistance was to be offered to the empress, nor was Siestrzencewicz to be forced to make such compensations as would overtax his strength. Things were not to be allowed to come to such a pass that the

¹ Ukase of January 26, 1782, in [THEINER], Docum. 233 *seqq.* ; *cf. ibid.*, Text, 443 *seqq.* ; LORET, 175 *seq.*, dates the ukase January 28.

² LORET, 174 ; [THEINER], Docum, 446.

³ Pallavicini to Archetti, October 19, 1782, in LORET, 196 *seqq.* ; *cf. ibid.*, 178 *seqq.*

latter would feel himself to be the Pope of the Russians and threaten the authority of the Holy See.¹

As the Imperial Diet was just about to open, Archetti put off the negotiations for a time and only opened them after he had invited the support of the King of Poland. But even then the discussions showed no sign of producing any satisfactory settlement.² Ultimately, indeed, Stackelberg received an official letter in which, in a tone of finality, the direst threats were uttered against the Papal authority.³ Archetti's reports to the Cardinal Secretary of State were full of expressions of disappointment and ill-humour.⁴ Accordingly, Pius VI. decided after all to send a personal letter to the empress, offering to send a special negotiator.⁵ Catherine accepted Archetti as such, but before the Pope's proposal had reached St. Petersburg she had dispatched Benislawski to Rome as the Russian negotiator. In the two audiences he was granted by the Pope he set before him the Czarina's wishes and Pius finally came to terms and agreed to Siestrzencewicz's elevation to the archiepiscopal see of Mohilev that was now to be erected.⁶

Archetti was again entrusted with the execution of the Papal decisions and was recommended to the Czarina as His

¹ *Ibid.*, 296-306. "Per il buon esito dell' affare non bisogna urtare di fronte contro la volontà di quella sovrana, nè bisogna costringere il vescovo di Mallo (Siestrzencewicz) a far quello che versimilmente è superiore alle sue forze, le quali già per indole sua sono deboli e languide." *Ibid.*, 303.

² Archetti to Pallavicini, November 13, 1782, *ibid.*, 306-311.

³ *Ibid.*, 181.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 182.

⁵ January 11, 1783, *ibid.* Cf. GENDRY, I., 401 *seqq.* The Pope's reluctance to compromise, which he did only to avoid a greater evil, and his very low opinion of Siestrzencewicz's arrogance, are best seen in his *Brief to the "Regina fidelissima", Mary of France, of February 20, 1783 (*Epist.*, IX.-X., fo. 5, Papal Secret Archives).

⁶ Pallavicini to Archetti, March 8 and 15, 1783, in LORET, 311 *seqq.*, 313. Cf. *ibid.*, 185 *seqq.*; GENDRY, I., 405 *seqq.*

Holiness's representative in a Papal letter of April 26th, 1783.¹ The full powers had been dated from April 15th and proclaimed that Mohilev was now the seat of an Archbishop with a coadjutor. This document was executed by Archetti in the Pope's name in a letter of December 8th, 1783.² Siestrzencewicz, hitherto only a Bishop *in partibus*, was appointed the holder of this new dignity, he was granted the use of the pallium, and the jurisdiction and the right of visitation over all Russia were conferred upon him. The cathedral chapter was established a few days later, and on January 18th, 1784, the Archbishop took the oath and was invested with the pallium in the Catholic church in St. Petersburg. A little later still the coadjutor Benislowski was consecrated Bishop.³ In May a Papal letter of congratulation was sent to the Russian prelate,⁴ and at the end of the year Archetti was recalled to Rome and was admitted to the Senate of the Church.⁵

Meanwhile, in 1783, the Uniat Lisowski had been installed in the episcopal see of Polotsk, which appointment was approved by the Czarina. Lisowski declared his readiness to allow the usual prayers for the empress and her successors to be said in the churches of his rite but not the prayers for the Russian Synod.⁶ Finally, even this last difficulty was amicably settled, and for the next ten years the existence of the Catholic Church of both rites was satisfactorily secured, at any rate externally.⁷ This situation remained unchanged until the

¹ [THEINER], *Zustände*, Docum. 81 seq. Cf. *ibid.*, Text, 449 seqq.; LORET, 195 seq.; GENDRY, I., 423 seqq., and in the *Compte rendu* of the *Freiburger Gelehrtenkongress* of 1897, V., 301 seqq.; PIERLING, V., 135 seqq.

² [THEINER], Docum. 86-90.

³ *Ibid.*, Text, 453 seqq.; LORET, 195 seq. Archetti's address after the conferment of the pallium, in [THEINER], Docum. 245 seqq.

⁴ On May 19, 1784, *ibid.*, 249 seq.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 456; GENDRY, I., 443 seqq.

⁶ [THEINER], Docum. 302; GENDRY, I., 437.

⁷ See [THEINER], 305, for Siestrzencewicz's incessant attempts to

second and third "partitions" of Poland brought with them a fresh threat to the existence of the Russian Catholics and once again they were subjected to persecution.

The severe loss suffered by Poland through the detachment of considerable portions of her territory in 1773 was not without its beneficial effects on the spiritual and political life of the remnant. Under the influence of Western European currents of thought and the encouragement given in many directions by King Stanislaus Poniatowski there took shape a serious renaissance which might be regarded as evidence of the reawakened life-force of a ravished nation had it not been confined so closely to a thin layer of intellectuals.¹ Within the bounds of this extensive intellectual movement there took place also the long-desired reform of internal political conditions, in particular the constitution. It came to fruition in the labours of the so-called Four Years' Diet which produced the May Constitution of 1791.² This had rid itself of all the weaknesses of the old constitution, such as the *Liberum veto*, the necessity for unanimity in the national Diet, and the formation of confederations. The electoral monarchy was to be converted into an hereditary one, confined to the House of Wettin. There were also to be numerous alterations in the social sphere and in the demarcation of political competences.

But in this rebirth of spiritual life the Uniat Church seemed

bring Uniats over to the Latin rite, even by dint of liturgical enormities due to ignorance of Latin.

¹ Cf. the chapter "Ein Königreich auf dem Parnass", in FORST-BATTAGLIA, 208-294.

² *Ibid.*, 323 seqq.; HANISCH, 260. Cf. *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CLVIII., 49 seq.; KALINKA, *Der vierjährige polnische Reichstag 1788-1791*, Berlin, 1896; DEMBINSKI, *Documents relatifs à l'histoire du 2^e et 3^e partage de la Pologne*, I. (1788-1791), Cracow, 1902. On October 4, 1778, Archetti asked Pallavicini for Briefs for the Marshals and Bishops attending this Diet (v. H. EHRENBERG, *Urkunden und Aktenstücke zur Geschichte der in der heutigen Provinz Posen vereinigten ehemals polnischen Landesteile*, Leipzig, 1892, 589 seqq.). *Ibid.*, 639 seqq., a report by Archetti on a synod held by the Polish dissidents.

to take no part. Certainly in the brief reign of the Metropolitan Leo Szeptycki (1778–79) its fortunes lay in the hands of a far-seeing and energetic leader whose work in Rome was directed chiefly towards the reform of the Basilian Order, which was actuated to a great extent by selfish and short-sighted motives.¹ But as this Order no longer seemed to be capable of the responsible leadership of the Uniat Church, and the Uniat nobles had gone over to the Latin rite almost to a man, the future of the Union was gloomy indeed. Thus it was that on Szeptycki's death Archbishop Smogorzewski had to be called from Polotsk to succeed him, although he was far more sorely needed in Russia. The better to deal with the affairs of his province he took up his residence in Warsaw, while the episcopal see of Lemberg, in spite of the counter-efforts of the Basilians, was handed over to a secular priest.² As Metropolitan of the whole Union, Smogorzewski was fully recognized by Austria but in Russia his work was obstructed. The efforts made under the leadership of the new Metropolitan to preserve the Union were rewarded by Pius VI. in the form of numerous distinctions bestowed on deserving clerics of the Ruthenian rite.³

Through the Four Years' Diet the Uniat episcopate had at last attained political equality with its Latin counterpart in the Polish senate.⁴ The Catholic religion of both rites was again declared to be the dominant State religion, while the dissidents were assured of their religious freedom. When this memorable Diet was assembling the king and the Bishops were exhorted by Pius VI. to guard the rights of religion.⁵ For a long time now Rome had once again been able to view with satisfaction Poland's ecclesiastical legislation.

There was, however, another Power that could not declare itself in agreement with the proposed reform of the kingdom's

¹ PELESZ, 569 *seqq.*

² *Ibid.*, 572.

³ *Ibid.*, 572 *seqq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 580 *seqq.* ; HANISCH, 260.

⁵ *Briefs to the king and the Bishops of Poland, of September 5, 1778 (*Epist.*, IV., fos. 185, 197, Papal Secret Archives).

constitution, and on this power everything ultimately depended. It was high time for the Russian empress to intervene if Poland was not to develop on its own lines, free of her control. Consequently, every means was used by her to maintain her influence in Poland, with the result that, although forbidden by the new constitution, a confederation of Russian representatives and adherents was formed at Targowice in May 1792 with the declared object of overthrowing the constitution.¹ At the same time Catherine proclaimed her numerous misgivings and desires by means of a long manifesto.² These demands were given a special emphasis by the usual occupation of Polish territory, contrary to treaty, first by Russian and soon afterwards by Prussian troops. The king was forced to join the confederation,³ while the two foreign Powers agreed at the convention of St. Petersburg to inflict a disciplinary punishment on the "rebellious" country by robbing it of further portions of its territory. At this second partition of Poland even the pretence of citing history in support of their claims was abandoned by the two Powers. Once again after an interval of twenty years the tragic spectacle of the Russo-Prussian dictatorship of force was re-enacted, the demands of the two Powers receiving the "silent" assent of the representatives of the nobles at the Diet of Grodno.⁴

Again, an ardent patriotic movement rallied round the banner of Polish freedom; in Warsaw it was joined even by the Government troops. The national hatred of the Russians was manifested in the storming of the Russian embassy, the Polish Bastille. The national armies, now really deserving

¹ HANISCH, 261; SSOLOWJOFF, 281.

² Dated May 18, 1792 (*v.* FORST-BATTAGLIA, 337).

³ HANISCH, 261; FORST-BATTAGLIA, 344, 346.

⁴ The convention dealing with this so-called "Second Partition" of Poland was signed at St. Petersburg on January 23, 1793 (FORST-BATTAGLIA, 347 *seqq.*). Cf. R. H. LORD, *The Second Partition of Poland*, London, 1916; E. HERRMANN, *Die österr.-preuss. Allianz vom 7. Februar 1792 und die zweite Teilung Polens*, Gotha, 1861.

the name, composed as they were of men from every class, fought their Russian oppressors with unyielding heroism in Poland and Lithuania until the fate of their leader Tadeusz Kosciuszko¹ and his adherents was sealed by their crushing defeat at Maciejowice in October 1794.² In the sharing of the booty, the so-called "Third Partition", which took place in the following year, Russia and Prussia were joined by Austria. The lion's share went to Russia, which thus gained possession of two-thirds of the former Polish kingdom. This, after an existence of over eight centuries, now disappeared entirely from the map of Europe. In October 1795 the document recording the total abolition of the State was signed; Stanislaus Poniatowski was deposed and he left Warsaw to spend the evening of his life as a private gentleman in St. Petersburg.³ He died in 1798.

In 1793, when by the treaty of Grodno five Latin and almost all the Uniat bishoprics in Poland came under Russian rule, the Czarina expressly repeated her assurance that the ecclesiastical *status quo* would be preserved.⁴ The sincerity of this promise may be gauged by the question she put to her Councillor of State in the same year: "What is the easiest way of bringing the Uniates back to schism?"⁵ A schismatic missionary institute was then set up under Government auspices, with numerous cells in the districts populated by Catholics. The work of schismatization was facilitated and encouraged by a number of Government decrees and soon had some important successes to record. Forcible measures, including the cruellest physical tortures, resulted in the Catholics of the Uniat rite suffering enormous losses.⁶ Pius VI.

¹ HANISCH, 262; FORST-BATTAGLIA, 357 *seqq.*, 361.

² FORST-BATTAGLIA, 368 *seq.*; SSOLOWJOFF, 356 *seqq.*

³ The convention was signed at St. Petersburg on October 24 (FORST-BATTAGLIA, 371 *seqq.*; HANISCH, 262; ZIVIER, *Polen*, 233 *seq.*).

⁴ PELESZ, 583 *seq.*; [THEINER], 306, 460; LIKOWSKI, I., 265.

⁵ PELESZ, 584; [THEINER], *Zustände*, 307.

⁶ PELESZ, 595 *seqq.*; [THEINER], 308 *seqq.*

did not neglect to apprise the Czarina in writing¹ of his grave anxiety about the fate of the Union in the newly acquired territories. Describing at length the persecutions and spoliations of the clergy, he earnestly besought the empress to alleviate their misery. The clergy, he said, were so terrified by the threats that had been uttered against them that they dared not even warn the faithful against apostasy, having been accused unjustly of exerting moral pressure on the non-Uniats. The Pope ended his letter with the offer to send a legate to the Court of the Czars to settle the trouble, adding that he was not at a loss for a suitable person but that he would first await the agreement of the empress, although he considered such a mission to be extremely necessary.

The situation of the Catholics became even more deplorable after the dismemberment of Poland in 1795, as now almost all the Uniats came under Russian rule. The dioceses of Lemberg and Przemysl in Austrian Galicia continued to receive the most helpful encouragement from the Government in Vienna,² while for the few Uniats that fell to Prussia a special bishopric was set up at Suprasl and was validified by Pius VI. in a Bull of March 4th, 1798.³

But the fears expressed by Pius VI. to Emperor Joseph II. about the continued existence of the Catholic Church in the areas that would pass to Russia in the event of a final partition of Poland proved to be only too well grounded. After the conclusion of the treaties of partition the representative of Christ, using the most earnest language, placed the whole care of this into the hands of the competent protector of the Church,⁴ but to no purpose. Catherine II., the destruction of Poland accomplished, prepared to deal the death-blow to the Greek Union, this being the second object of her Polish policy and one which she had pursued all along. At a single stroke

¹ *On September 12, 1795, *Epist.*, A° XXI., p. 57 *seqq.*, Papal Secret Archives.

² PELESZ, 628 *seqq.*, 634 *seqq.*, 650 *seqq.*

³ [THEINER], 282-296; PELESZ, 595 *seq.*

⁴ *Pius VI. to the emperor, March 14, 1794 (*Epist.*, A° XXI., p. 4, *seqq.*, *loc. cit.*).

all the Uniat bishoprics were abolished, the Bishops were removed and pensioned off, and four eparchies were created in their stead. Almost all the Basilian monasteries were secularized, their property was nationalized, and the monastic and parish churches were handed over to the schismatics.¹ Many of the priests emigrated to Galicia. Archbishop Lisowski, the only ecclesiastical dignitary still tolerated, had to exhort his subjects in a pastoral letter not to reprove those who had reverted to schism and not to make things hard for them on this account. This persecution, it has been estimated,² left the Uniates with barely 200 of the 5,000 churches they formerly possessed.

The Latin Catholics suffered in a similar manner at the hands of the Czarina, for they, too, lost all their bishoprics with the sole exception of Livonia. For the sake of appearances, however, two new sees were erected, at Pinsk and Latitchev, where there were practically no Catholics.³ As might have been expected, Archbishop Siestrzencewicz was left unscathed by the persecution but did not lift a finger to mitigate the lot of those entrusted to his care.⁴

This was the Russian despot's last attack on the Catholic Church. The following year brought her decease and the end of a long period of suffering for the Church.⁵ Catherine's son and successor, Paul I., whose reign lasted only three years, did his best to repair the damage. He stopped the persecution of the Catholics of both rites and invited the Pope to enter into negotiations.⁶ Litta, the nuncio to Warsaw, went as legate to St. Petersburg with instructions from Rome. The

¹ PELESZ, 588 *seq.*

² [THEINER], 314 *seq.* ; LIKOWSKI, I., 278 *seq.*

³ [THEINER], 460.

⁴ For Catherine's ineffectual attempts to obtain the Cardinal's hat for her favourite, *v.* GODLEWSKI in *Kwartalnik Litewski*, 1910, II., 13-22, III., 51-8, IV., 13-24.

⁵ LESCŒUR, *L'Eglise cath. et le gouvernement Russe*, Paris, 1903, 37.

⁶ [THEINER], 316. Cf. KARL WALCKER in *Raumers Hist. Taschenbuch*, ed. W. H. Riehl, N.F. VI. (1876), 243 *seqq.*

memorandum he presented on his arrival at the Russian capital in May 1797 contained a detailed exposition of the Roman demands¹: the complete restoration of the bishoprics of both rites, the return of all the schismatized churches and confiscated monasteries, and the assurance of religious liberty and unimpeded religious jurisdiction.

The Synod of St. Petersburg protested against these demands, and, what was worse, Siestrzencewicz, fearing that his ecclesiastical jurisdiction would be curtailed, also tried to prevent their acceptance.² Nevertheless, in a very short time a number of the old Uniat bishoprics were restored and most of the other terms were complied with. These agreements were ratified by a Papal Bull issued from the Certosa at Florence on November 18th, 1798.³ This stated that, besides Archbishop Lisowski of Polotsk and his coadjutor, the Uniat Catholics were to have bishoprics at Lutzk, for Volhynia and Podolia, and at Brest, for Lithuania, Grodno, Minsk, and Courland.⁴ The Church of the Latin rite was restored in similar fashion. The two mock-bishoprics set up in 1795 were abolished and nearly all the old ones were restored. The diocese of Kiev was replaced by a new one centred in Minsk. Compensation was paid by the State for the church properties that could not be restored in their entirety.⁵ This arrangement was also ratified by the said Bull.⁶

Thus, through the goodwill of the Czar Paul I., the Catholic Church of both rites was reborn in Russia. In other ways, too, the Czar showed great friendliness towards Rome and on hearing of the plan to deport the Pope to France he offered him a refuge in his own country.⁷ Further evidence of his

¹ [THEINER], 461. For Litta's mission, *cf.* also PIERLING, V., 202 *seqq.*, 219 *seqq.*

² [THEINER], 317; LESCOEUR, *loc. cit.*

³ [THEINER], 318 *seq.*; LIKOWSKI, II., 9.

⁴ PELESZ, 592.

⁵ [THEINER], 462.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 463 *seqq.*; MERCATI, *Concordati*, 538-559.

⁷ [THEINER], 361. *Czar Paul to Pius VI. on December 14, 1798, original in Nunziat. Pol. Russia, 344, Papal Secret Archives.

sympathy was his support of the Order of the Knights of Malta, which had been broken up by Napoleon. In October 1798 its representatives even elected him Grand Master, schismatic though he was. Naturally there was no question of this election ever winning Papal recognition, and by Pius VII. also it was regarded as never having happened.¹

Although Siestrzencewicz went on with his intrigues, being determined to exclude the Russian Catholics from foreign influence and to prevent the flourishing of any other ecclesiastical authority beside his own,² the Catholics continued for some time yet to enjoy an unrestricted existence in the empire of the Czars. But it was only the lull before the final storm which, some decades later, after a glorious but unavailing resistance offered by the Catholics, led to the absolute supremacy of schism in Russia.

¹ [THEINER], 465-473. The election was severely condemned by the Pope, though with all possible prudence and benevolence, in the *Cifra al Litta Nunzio di Pietroburgo, of March 16, 1799, dated from Florence (Nunziat. di Polonia, 343A, Papal Secret Archives). Cf. GENDRY, I., 179 *seqq.* At the same time the Pope dispatched a *Bull permitting the use of the purple by Archbishop Siestrzencewicz, and a *Brief to the emperor (*loc. cit.*). This desire of the ambitious prelate was recommended by Litta in a *Cifra of August 20-31, 1798: "è malincontento di veder mancar la sua speranza del cardinalato. Perciò è necessario di evitar qualsivoglia maggior disgusto di tal persona che per suo carattere, talento e situazione può nuocere moltissimo." *Ibid.*, 344.

² Siestrzencewicz was arrogant enough to assume the title of "Legatus natus Sanctae Sedis", which was complained of by Rome in the *Cifre al Litta of February 9 and March 16, 1799, from Florence, Nunziat. di Polonia 343A, *loc. cit.* Cf. GENDRY, II., 401. For Rome's absolute demand for the maintenance of the Uniats' privileges, cf. *Odescalchi to Litta on "5 del 1799" (*loc. cit.*). A scandalous letter from Siestrzencewicz is mentioned in Benvenuti's *letter from St. Petersburg of July 4, 1799 (Nunziat. Pol. Russia, 344, *ibid.*).

CHAPTER V.

THE SURVIVAL OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS IN PRUSSIA AND RUSSIA—THE ATTEMPTS AT ITS RESTORATION.

(1)

ON hearing of the vacancy of the Papal See in 1774, Frederick II. instructed Ciofani, his agent in Rome, to congratulate the new Pope in his name as soon as possible after his election and to explain to him that the preservation of the Society of Jesus was essential for the welfare of the Catholic subjects in the Prussian States. He left it to the newly-elected Pope to adopt whatever course he thought compatible with the action taken by his predecessor. The name and habit were matters of indifference to him.¹ On the king repeating this request more urgently ² Ciofani promised to do all he could to bring about the fulfilment of his wishes, though opposition was to be expected from Spain, with which it was a point of honour to keep the Jesuits suppressed.³

However well disposed he was at heart towards the Jesuits ⁴ Pius VI. was helpless in the face of the overwhelming influence of the Bourbons, quite apart from his having stated in the conclave that he had no intention of annulling what had been done by his predecessor.⁵ In his position, he protested,

¹ Ministerial decree of November 5, 1774, addressed to Ciofani, in LEHMANN, IV., 625, No. 622. Cf. *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XXIX (1885), 104. *Strachwitz to Garampi, December 3, 1774, Nunziat. di Polonia, 119, Papal Secret Archives. *Garampi to Pallavicini, November 16, 1774, *ibid.*, 296.

² Cabinet order of December 23, 1774, to Ciofani, in LEHMANN, IV., 638, No. 632.

³ Ciofani's report of January 28, 1775, *ibid.*, V., 12, No. 14.

⁴ Cf. Cabinet order of March 21, 1775, to Carmer, *ibid.*, V., 22, No. 30; MASSON, *Bernis*, 324.

⁵ *Solis to Grimaldi, February 15, 1775, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5076; printed in PACHECO Y LEYVA, *El conclave de 1774 a 1775*, Madrid, 1915, 504 *seqq.*

Frederick II. would also be at a loss. The Roman Curia was too dependent on the Catholic Courts, and they wanted what had happened to remain as it was and demanded that the Jesuits should not continue to exist anywhere as a body recognized by the Church. Before the business had been settled some modification might have been possible but there was no going back now.¹ Frederick's reply to this was that evidently the Pope had not grasped his idea properly. He had not asked for anything that might offend the Pope or detract from his dignity. In asking for the preservation of the Jesuits he had only one object in view, the training of youth, in which they excelled. In a lengthy postscript the king again stressed the opinion that Pius VI. would be doing a service to religion by giving another title to a society devoted to the instruction of youth and the training of Catholic priests.² The same suggestion was repeated by the king on May 31st. If circumstances compelled the Pope to defer his approval, he might instruct the Bishops to cease disturbing the Jesuits in the exercise of their functions until the final constitution of the new corporation.³

Cardinal Rezzonico, who was conducting the negotiations on the Pope's behalf, was informed by Frederick that the opposition of the Bourbons would not reduce him to silence. He did not meddle in the domestic affairs of their States and he would not allow anyone to contest his right to maintain the Jesuits in his States, as he considered them useful for the well-being of his subjects, especially the young ones. The origin of their institute was worthy of all praise. Nothing had contributed more to the good of mankind than the establishment of an Order that had produced the persons best fitted to train and educate the young. Instead of obstructing the preservation of such an institute, the Popes and all who had the welfare of youth at heart ought to applaud his efforts.

¹ Ciofani's report of May 3, 1775, in LEHMANN, V., 26, No. 40.

² Cabinet order of May 22, 1775, to Ciofani and Finckenstein, *ibid.*, 31, Nos. 45 and 46.

³ To Ciofani, *ibid.*, 33, No. 49.

Other princes, contrary to all the principles of justice and decency, had laid hands on the property of the Jesuits, but he was firmly resolved to use it for the purpose for which it was intended, namely the schools.¹

Apparently the chief difficulty in satisfying the king's desires was his request for the continuance of the Jesuits as a society. To meet this objection Frederick argued that there were several million Catholic subjects in his territories who had to be prepared for the duties of their state. There were no other Orders available which were capable of taking over the schools. He could not allow public instruction to be interrupted, especially in theology, and he wished it to be continued by men who had chosen the teaching profession as their life-task and who had behind them the experience of more than two centuries. Jesuitism in itself was a matter of indifference to him. It was solely the motives of good order and thrift that induced him to combine the members into a new corporation whose laws and subordination could be determined by the Pope as he thought fit. If his just representations found no hearing, he would be satisfied with the Bishops being urged not to interfere with the Jesuits in their professional duties.²

Pius VI. replied through Ciofani that he feared the anger of the Bourbon Courts too much to dare give his express approval to the continued existence of the Jesuits. If the king could find ways and means of preserving them he would not object nor would he pass sentence of irregularity on them.³ This

¹ Cabinet order of July 14, 1775, to Ciofani, *ibid.*, 41, No. 61.

² *Copy of an extract from a memorial to the Pope, undated [c. August/September 1775; cf. Sebastiani to Reinach, August 30, 1775], Gymnasialarchiv, Glatz. Cf. also correspondence between Hertzberg and the Cabinet in LEHMANN, V., 51 *seq.*, No. 74.

³ The dispatch was noted by LEHMANN (V., 51, n. 3) as being unavailable. Its content may be gleaned from a *letter in cipher from Garampi to Pallavicini, of December 27, 1775: "Intanto per compimento della materia, aggiungo qui quel, che recentemente è stato qui scritto da Berlino: Paragrafo di lettera scritta da Berlino e concernente la risposta data dal Papa all'istanze fatte

reply did not quite fulfil Frederick's expectations ¹ nor did it satisfy the Bishops, who had misgivings about disregarding the positive instructions of the Brief of suppression on the strength of this statement couched in general terms.² At the discussion between the Prussian envoy Benoît, acting for his royal master, and Garampi, which was held in the hope that an arrangement could be made with the Bishops through Garampi's mediation, the nuncio remarked that he had anticipated the king's wishes by advising the Breslau administrator on December 13th, 1773, to accept the Jesuit candidates for ordination. He was against the election of a Jesuit General for Prussia—surely the king was too enlightened to endanger the peace of the Church by such a step nor would he want to embroil the Pope with the Catholic Courts. Moreover, although the person elected might well wield an outward authority he would have no spiritual power, as the Jesuits would be directly subject to the Bishops.

in nome del Re di Prussia dal Sig. Abbate Cioffani. Ciofanius Serenissimo significavit, Papam lecta Serenissimi declaratione respondisse, in sua iam potestate non csse factum sui decessoris Ganganelli penes hanc infelicem Societatem revocare ob potentissimas aularum Catholicarum protestationes. Interim sperare se, quod Maiestas Sua Regia modum et viam sponte inventura sit finem assequendi suum ; illud sancte se polliceri, quod Societatem Borussicam numquam ceu irregularem declarabit." Nunziat. di Polonia 59, Papal Secret Archives.

¹ Hertzberg to the Cabinet, September 14, 1775, in LEHMANN, V., 51 *seqq.*, No. 74 ; Cabinet order of September 15, 1775, *ibid.* ; Cabinet order of September 27, 1775, to the Bishops of Kulm, Ermeland, and Kujavia, *ibid.*, 54 *seq.*, No. 77.

² *Strachwitz to Garampi in September, 1775, Nunziat. di Polonia 119, Papal Secret Archives ; Strachwitz to Frederick II., October 7 and 21, 1775, in LEHMANN, V., 58 *seq.*, No. 83, 64 *seq.*, No. 92 ; Bishop Ostrowski of Kujavia to the Cabinet before October 24, 1775, *ibid.*, V., 66, No. 95 ; Bajer to Frederick II., October 17, 1775, Nunziat. di Polonia 59, *loc. cit.* ; *Garampi to Pallavicini, October 18, 1775, *ibid.* Only Prince Bishop Krasizki of Ermeland complied with the king's instructions readily. Cabinet letter of October 19, 1775, to Krasizki, in LEHMANN, V., 64, No. 90.

To meet the needs of the Catholics and to please the king Rome had allowed the Bishops to employ the Jesuits in the cure of souls, even when they continued to live in community. The Fathers should be content with this and it also served the king's purposes. The whole difference between his plan and the king's was that the latter regarded the Society as still existing while he regarded it as abolished. Frederick wanted the clerics to take their vows and this he had allowed, but under a different title. He might therefore explain to his sovereign that in essentials he had gained his purpose ; all else was mere formality.¹

Besides the Bishops the Superior Von Reinach had been informed by the king of the concession that the Pope had made him through the agent Ciofani.² A breach of confidence ³ or careless talk resulted in a Latin translation of the Papal letter making its way to Rome, where naturally enough it aroused considerable indignation in Bourbon diplomatic circles and caused the Pope no little embarrassment.⁴ To extricate

¹ *Diario di Garampi, December 22, 1775, Diario 1775-6, Papal Secret Archives, Fondo Garampi Arm. XV., 191 ; *Garampi to Strachwitz, December 23, 1775, Nunziat. di Polonia 306, *ibid.* ; *Garampi to the Bishops of Ermeland, Kujavia, and Kulm, December 30, 1775, *ibid.* ; *Garampi to Pallavicini, December 27, 1775, Cifre, *ibid.*, 59.

² *September 27, 1775, Gymnasialarchiv, Glatz.

³ Cf. *Garampi to Pallavicini, October 18, December 13 and 27, 1775, Nunziat. di Polonia 59, Papal Secret Archives.

⁴ *Moñino to Grimaldi, November 16, 1775, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4987 ; *Marchese Antici to Baron Schlipp, November 22, 1775, State Archives, Munich, Kasten schwarz 528/13 ; *Frederick II. to Reinach, December 9 and 11, 1775, Gymnasialarchiv, Glatz ; LEHMANN, V., 76, No. 114 ; *Herzan to Firmian, December 20, 1775, State Archives, Vienna, K.F.A.75^b B. As the affair had wide repercussions, a circular *letter was sent by the Congregation for the Suppression to all the nuncios, reminding them that nothing was to be said or written for or against the suppression, as it would scandalize the Church and the faithful ; January 23, 1776, Nunziat. di Polonia 46, *loc. cit.*

him from this awkward position Cardinal Bernis proposed a middle course which, while upholding the Brief *Dominus ac Redemptor*, went a long way towards satisfying Frederick's desires.¹ Under date December 2nd, 1775, Cardinal Rezzonico, acting on behalf of Pius VI. and with his approval, informed the suffragan Bishop Strachwitz that so as not to deprive the Catholics in Prussia of the spiritual succour they had received hitherto from the Fathers of the suppressed Society of Jesus, these priests were not to be forbidden to continue their activities in the churches and schools. Nevertheless, the Pope regarded them solely as individuals subject to episcopal jurisdiction, not as members of a religious association. With this proviso the Bishop could admit them to holy orders.² Ciofani added by way of explanation that at his last audience the Pope had asserted that with regard to the Jesuits he disowned everything that had happened or was still happening in Prussia. The methods which the monarch was using to preserve them were protected by the seal of the royal, not the Papal, authority. As the king's concern was with the religious and scholastic training of his Catholic subjects, the royal desire would be satisfied by Rome instructing the Bishops not to hinder this activity in any way. Nevertheless, the Pope gave the aforesaid permission only to the individual members of the legally suppressed Society and he denied their continued existence in Prussia. He could not approve of this existence either under the name of the Society of Jesus or of any other religious association. This was all that could be obtained in the circumstances.³

Deeming that he had obtained in effect all that he could

¹ *Piano di lettera formato dal Card. Bernis, 19 [Nov. 1775], Regolari, Gesuiti 16, Papal Secret Archives.

² *Nunziat. di Polonia 45, 46, and 119, *ibid.*; LEHMANN, V., 73, No. 109. Cf. *Pallavicini to Garampi, December 6, 1775, Nunziat. di Polonia 45, *ibid.*; *Corsini to Garampi, December 9, 1775, *ibid.*

³ December 9, 1775; LEHMANN, V., 75, No. 112. Antici's *report, Diario di Garampi, December 16, 1775, Diario 1775/76, Papal Secret Archives, Fondo Garampi Arm. XV, 191.

reasonably demand from the Pope, Frederick rested content with these concessions, especially as they seemed to suffice for the execution of his plans as the father of his people. That the Pope's decision had deprived the Silesian Jesuits of their character as members of an Order was more than he could understand.¹ On January 3rd, 1776, he had orders sent to the suffragan Bishop of Breslau and to the Jesuits to take the necessary measures for the execution of the Papal edict.² What seemed to be a mere formality to the monarch, however, was a matter of vital importance to the Jesuits. The Cabinet instruction of January 3rd, that "the Order and the whole institute was from now onwards completely suppressed in the royal lands as elsewhere", filled them with horror and bewilderment. But when the first excitement had died down they took a calmer view of the future.³ After a while even Fr. Zeplichal, whose tactless utterances⁴ were often used against the Order, recovered his equanimity, though he never succeeded in conquering his inward dislike of the suffragan Bishop Strachwitz, who was intellectually his inferior.

On the strength of Rezzonico's letter and the Cabinet order of January 3rd, 1776, Strachwitz, on January 23rd, issued an instruction for the episcopal commissaries for the suppression. In every college the community was to be assembled and informed that the Society of Jesus had ceased to exist in Silesia, that the authority of the Superiors had expired, and

¹ After the suppression had been carried out the monarch caused a denial to be issued by his agent Ciofani that the Society had been suppressed in his realm. This, he said, was a false report and a misunderstanding. He was adhering to the arrangements made with the Pope and he would maintain these religious in existence, apart from a few external changes. Ministerial decree of April 9, 1776, to Ciofani, in LEHMANN, V., 120, No. 173.

² Cabinet order of January 3, 1776, in LEHMANN, V., 81, No. 121; *Frederick II. to Reinach, January 3, 1776, Gymnasialarchiv, Glatz.

³ Extract from the Cabinet conference of January 15, 1776, in LEHMANN, V., 120, No. 881.

⁴ Zeplichal to Carmer, January 19, 1776, *ibid.*, 81³.

that the former members of the Society now belonged to the secular clergy. The rector was to be replaced by a secular priest who would act as house superintendent.¹ The professors, preachers, and teachers were confirmed in their offices until further notice. An inventory of the church furniture and pious foundations was to be prepared. The commissaries were not to participate in the valuation of the estate, as the king had reserved this task for the Government.² The commissaries were to perform their duty unobtrusively, considerately, and with the avoidance of harshness, remembering that they were the representatives of the Bishop, who embraced in fatherly love the members of an Order which had trained so many men to be of service to the Church and the State and who wanted to alleviate as much as possible their ill-fortune, which he was unable to prevent.³ In Breslau the suppression took place on February 5th, 1776. The reading of the Papal Brief was omitted, as all present declared that they knew it already and submitted to it.⁴ On February 9th the suffragan Bishop was able to report to the nuncio that the Papal ruling had been carried out in the diocese of Breslau. All had submitted without hesitation, except the ex-Provincial Gleixner and the professor Zeplichal. As the former was domiciled in Prague his competent authority was the Archbishop there.⁵ Zeplichal

¹ This regulation was cancelled by the king for reasons of economy. Hoym to the Foreign Department, April 16, 1776, *ibid.*, 121 seq., No. 174.

² The Suffragan's attempt to take a hand in determining the amount of the Jesuit property and in its administration (January 10, 1776, *ibid.*, 84, No. 125) was rejected by the king with the remark: "As for what concerns their money, the clergy have nothing to do with it." January 24, 1776, *ibid.*, 92, No. 136.

³ *In Jesuit possession, *Hist. Soc.* 226.

⁴ "Estratto di una lettera di Breslavia circa la soppressione dei Gesuiti ivi seguita ai 5 febr° 1776," *ibid.* In August 1776 Pius VI. renewed all the ecclesiastical privileges possessed by the ex-Jesuits before their secularization. Ciofani's report of August 21, 1776 (LEHMANN, V., 154, No. 205).

⁵ In Glatz, which belonged to the archdiocese of Prague, the suppression took place on Ash Wednesday, February 21, 1776.

considered that as a native of Moravia he could submit to any Ordinary in Prussia of his choice. When summoned to the Bishop's presence he excused himself on the plea that he had to undertake a journey for his minister, which, in fact, he had done.¹

In accordance with the agreement between the Curia and the Court of Berlin, the Minister Hoym, on February 8th, 1776, issued more detailed regulations for the Jesuits' future mode of life. They were to lay aside their distinctive dress and submit themselves to episcopal jurisdiction. Provided that they possessed the necessary qualities they were to be allowed to accept spiritual dignities and benefices. All the schools and the institutes and foundations connected with them were to remain in existence. The necessary teachers were to be drawn from the members of the extinct Society, and those already employed were retained. The rest were to be employed in the cure of souls or were to be provided for from Jesuit funds as pensioners or lay-brothers. The management of the estates devolved upon the sovereign.²

With the assistance of the former Provincial Gleixner and the regent Hertle,³ Hoym drew up a statement of account for

BACH, *Urkundliche Kirchengeschichte der Grafschaft Glatz*, Breslau, 1841, 373; JOSEPH MÜLLER, *Nachrichten über die Gründung und allmähliche Ausbildung des K. kathol. Gymnasiums zu Glatz*, Glatz, 1842, 24.

¹ *Strachwitz to Garampi, February 9, 1776, Nunziat. di Polonia 119, Papal Secret Archives; *Garampi to the Congregation for the Suppression, March 13, 1776, *ibid.*, 59; *Garampi to Pallavicini, May 24, 1776, *ibid.*, 127. Extract from the report of the Suffragan Strachwitz, before February 13, 1776, in LEHMANN, V., 102, No. 145.

² Hoym to the War and Crown Lands Office at Breslau and Glogau, February 8, 1776, *ibid.*, 99 *seqq.*, No. 144; WITTE, 102.

³ The Superior Reinach, who was first selected for the post, had to refuse it on account of persistent illness. Cabinet letter to Hoym and Reinach, January 15, 1776, in LEHMANN, V., 87 *seq.*, Nos. 129 and 130; correspondence between Reinach and the Cabinet on January 21, 1776, *ibid.*, 91 *seq.*, No. 134.

all the Jesuit establishments in Silesia, the receipts and expenditure balancing at 46,366 rix-dollars, 12 groschen, and 10 pfennigs. The number of the properties was sixty-four,¹ of the personnel 101.² The Minister found the Jesuits' accountancy inadequate.³ He hoped that under the more accurate management of the Treasury the receipts would be considerably increased.⁴ At his instigation the total estate of the former Silesian Province was placed under the control of the War and Crown Lands Office.⁵ But as the management by this office failed to produce the results expected by the king, he restored it to the Jesuits in 1783, entrusting Reinach with the superintendence of the estates in Wartenberg and Glogau, and Strobel with that of Glatz. The accounts were to be rendered in the presence of the Superior Reinach, to relieve the Society of any doubt about the funds not having been administered in a correct and honest manner.⁶ An

¹ In 1763 there were still seventy-two, *v.* WITTE, 103.

² Eighty-three professors, seven students, eleven invalids.

³ Report of the Minister Hoym, March 13, 1776, in LEHMANN, V., 110 *seq.*, No. 159.

⁴ Hoym's report of February 3, 1776, *ibid.*, 95, No. 138.

⁵ Cabinet order of May 19, 1776, to the governments of Breslau and Glogau, *ibid.*, 126 *seq.*, No. 182; "Instruction zur Administration derer Jesuiter Güter in Schlesien," May 19, 1776, *ibid.*, 127 *seqq.*, No. 183. *Garampi to Pallavicini, Dresden, May 24, 1776, Nunziat. di Polonia 127, Papal Secret Archives; **id.* to *id.*, October 19, 1780, Nunziat. di Germania 397, *ibid.* The Prince of Carolath now took the opportunity of renewing his claims to the college of Glogau, but Frederick curtly rejected them with the ruling that the business with the Jesuits was settled, so that nothing more could be done. Besides, the Jesuits had nothing to spare; in fact they hardly had enough to pay their debts. April 4, 1776, in LEHMANN, V., 118, No. 170.

⁶ Cabinet letter of August 28, 1783, to Reinach and Strobel, *ibid.*, 571 *seq.*, No. 737; instruction for Director Hellwig, September 13, 1783, *ibid.*, 573 *seqq.*, No. 741. According to this instruction the debts amounted to 169,084 rix-dollars, the revenues to 65,055 rix-dollars, as against which there were outgoings of 38,363 rix-dollars (24,344 of which were for ex-Jesuits and

application in 1785 for permission to sell the real estate and to dissolve the existing management was rejected by the king for the sake of the greater security of the landed property.¹

Almost as soon as Frederick the Great had passed away the Minister Hoym put the plan for the sale before his successor. On the basis of their yield he valued the Jesuit estates in Silesia at 945,200 rix-dollars, which when put out at 5 per cent interest would produce 47,000 dollars,² so that after all the expenses for the schools institute had been met there would be a surplus of 8,000 rix-dollars for the support of other institutions. The Jesuits, he maintained, could not object to the application of this sum to the Protestant universities of Königsberg, Frankfurt an der Oder, and Halle since, on the basis of this plan, the receipts would be increased from 28,000 to 47,000 rix-dollars without any assistance from them and not a pfennig could be taken from the allocation made to the schools institute.³ Frederick William II. had already sanctioned the sale and had ordered an annual payment of 10,000 rix-dollars to the said universities,⁴ when he had misgivings and called for opinions of the possibility of obtaining the surplus of 10,000 rix-dollars without selling the properties. For a long time there was disagreement between the Ministers Hoym and Danckelmann. The latter admitted that the surplus was unobtainable under the existing management but maintained that it would be still less possible if the properties were sold. His chief misgivings, however, were of a juridical and moral character. Frederick II., he said, had

churches, 8,222 for the payment of interest). The yearly surplus was reckoned at 26,692 rix-dollars.

¹ Cabinet order of August 27, 1785, to "The Commission of the Catholic Schools Institute in Silesia", *ibid.*, 666, No. 861.

² The main fund for the Catholic schools in Silesia had an income of 176,970 marks in 1877-8; in 1896-7 the revenues amounted to 131,160 marks. RUDOLPHI, *Zur Kirchenpolitik Preussens*, Paderborn, 1907, 64.

³ Hoym's report of December 30, 1786, in LEHMANN, VI., 19 *seqq.*, No. 27.

⁴ Cabinet order of January 3, 1787, *ibid.*, 21, No. 28.

assured the members of the schools institute of the undiminished possession of their estates, which had been destined for this and no other purpose. The properties could not be sold without the previous knowledge and consent of the owners. The ex-Jesuit colleges were the only means by which Catholics could provide their children with a higher education.¹ Hoym's reply was that the schools institute lost absolutely nothing by the sale; nor would the 10,000 rix-dollars be diverted from the ultimate object since, the theologians apart, the Catholics were free to study at the universities in question.² The argument was ended by the king's release of Danckelmann from the management of the Jesuit estates and its restoration to the crown lands office.³ Six months later the Wartenberg estates, which were the largest and most productive, were sold to the Duke of Courland for 300,000 rix-dollars.⁴ The leasing of the remaining, scattered, properties took place on the 15th and 16th November, 1787, in the presence of the "Jesuit Superiors", this precaution being taken to remove from their minds any suspicion of unfair dealing. Moreover the highest bidders had to accept the properties from the Jesuits themselves as the owners.⁵ Replying to a representation made by the superiors of the Catholic schools institute on August 24th, 1788, the king observed that he had noted

¹ Danckelmann to Hoym, February 8, 1787, *ibid.*, 40 *seqq.*, No. 47.

² Hoym to Danckelmann, February 10, 1787, *ibid.*, 43 *seqq.*, No. 47.

³ Cabinet order, February 27, 1787, to Hoym, *ibid.*, 73, No. 73.

⁴ Hoym to the Cabinet, September 12, 1787, *ibid.*, 158 *seq.*, No. 148; RUDOLPHI, 64; HOFFMANN, *Die Jesuiten in Deutsch-Wartenberg* (1931), 106 *seqq.*

⁵ Hoym to the Cabinet, October 31, 1787, in LEHMANN, VI., 169, No. 158; Hoym's report of November 27, 1787, *ibid.*, VI., 181, No. 170; RUDOLPHI, 64; HOFFMANN, *Das Vermögen der schlesischen Jesuiten*, in the *Zeitschr. des Vereins für Gesch. Schlesiens*, LXV. (1931), 430 *seqq.*; ALBERT, *Der Verkauf der Glatzer Jesuitengüter*, in *Glatzer Heimatblätter*, XVI. (1930), 22 *seqq.*, 168 *seqq.*

with pleasure that they were satisfied with the new arrangement and in the future, too, he would protect their interests. As for the time being the Protestant universities could not do without the contribution and as members of all confessions could study law and medicine there, even they would understand that "it was not yet necessary to provide the university of Breslau with teachers of these faculties".¹

At the same time as the administration of the Jesuit estates was put on a new basis under Frederick II. (1776) a reorganization of studies took place. It was not the first time that the Prussian authorities had devoted their attention to a reform of the Catholic school system. Shortly after the publication of the Brief of suppression it seemed to them that the time had come to resurrect Felbiger's plans for reform, which had been brought to a standstill by Schlabrendorf's death. With the co-operation of Professor Zeplichal, Carmer, the Minister of Justice, drew up the new "*Schul-Reglement*", which was highly thought of at the time.² To the former philosophical subjects were now added history, philosophical æsthetics, the theory of agriculture, and the history of philosophy and literature. "In metaphysics all scholastic whimsicalities and sophistries are to be dropped"; on the other hand, the students were to be trained to a rational consideration of things. The object of theological teaching was the formation of a straightforward clergy instructed in the truths a knowledge of which was necessary in their profession. Instead of indulging in scholastic speculations and useless polemics the teachers were to provide their pupils with the weapons with which to

¹ Cabinet letter of September 10, 1788, in LEHMANN, VI., 311, No. 261. REINKENS (116) and WITTE (105, n. 1) should be revised accordingly. Cf. GRÜNHAGEN, *Schlesien unter Friedrich d. Gr., II.* (1892), 501. HOFFMANN (*Handbuch der brandenburgisch-preussischen Gesch.* [1889], 350 seq.), GRANIER (*Preussen und die kathol. Kirche seit 1640*, VII. [1902], 236), and *Realenzyklopädie für protest. Theol.* (XV. [1904], 443) are wrong in connecting the suppression of the Schools Institute with the sale of the properties in 1787.

² Cf. *Augsburgisches Extrablatt* No. 106, of May 4, 1775.

combat the modern enemies of religion. For ordination a degree in theology would be required. The most radical change was in the relations between the Jesuit schools and the Government. Formerly they had been practically independent of it, but now all the higher forms of Catholic education, including the university, was subject to the general supervision of the Silesian Minister of Justice. This official was empowered to confirm the appointment of teachers and, after consultation with the "Grand School Board" to alter the method of teaching and to choose the textbooks. A member of the Society was to be appointed director of all the Catholic schools; he was to be subordinate to the Minister and was to visit all the schools at least once a year. Normally his term of office was for life. The teachers were to further the training not only of the intellect but also of the heart. To enable them to devote themselves undisturbed to their professional duties they were not to be employed too much in the cure of souls or in domestic affairs; nor were they to suffer from any serious lack of the books or instruments they needed for the subjects they were teaching.¹

In this educational system, which presupposed the existence in Silesia of the Society of Jesus, a place on the School Board was reserved for the Provincial, who was given the right of proposing teachers for the various posts. When the suppression was put into execution, in 1776, the question arose whether the Bishop's right of supervision was to be confined to the purely spiritual functions of the ex-Jesuits or was to cover their activities in general, their educational work included. Strachwitz naturally wanted the matter to be decided in the latter sense,² while the Government and several of the ex-Jesuits—the former for political, the latter for personal reasons—preferred his co-operation to be confined to what was absolutely essential.³ On March 13th, 1776, the suffragan

¹ LEHMANN, IV., 630 *seqq.*, No. 630; GRÜNHAGEN, 501 *seqq.*

² Letters of January 10 and before February 13, 1776, in LEHMANN, V., 84, No. 125, and 102, No. 145.

³ Zeplichal to Carmer, January 19, 1776, *ibid.*, V., 81, n. 3. Before February 18 Zeplichal, who had been director of schools

Bishop presented his plan, which he had drawn up in consultation with Gleixner and Hertle. His principal demands were that a secular cleric was to be appointed by the Ordinary as head of every educational establishment and that a special commission for the superintendence of the schools should be formed of the administrator and “ the most eminent professors ”.¹ The plan drawn up at the same time by the Minister of Justice, Carmer, with the assistance of the Rector of the University, Zeplichal, and Professor Langer, excluded the Bishops and the secular clergy from any participation in educational affairs. The teachers and prefects were to continue living in community. Every “ Gymnasium ” was to have seven teachers, the university fourteen. A fund was to be created for the maintenance of twelve young men who were to be trained as teachers at the university. To encourage the teachers and to distinguish them from the rest of the secular clergy they should be permitted to assume the title of *Presbyteri instituti regii scholastici*.² In effect, Frederick II. rejected the suffragan Bishop’s proposals³ by deciding in favour of Carmer’s plan, which restricted the Ordinary to the purely ecclesiastical sphere and reserved to the State wide powers of intervention in educational matters, on the model of the Catholic Powers.⁴ To elude the further objections raised since 1775 (*ibid.*, 48, No. 69), submitted to the Cabinet through Reinach a scheme for the reform of studies (*ibid.*, 103, No. 147). This may have been the *aide-mémoire* directed against episcopal superintendence, the gist of which is reproduced by Reimann in the *Zeitschr. des Vereins für Gesch. und Altertum Schlesiens* (XXI. [1887], 23 *seq.*). Zeplichal regarded the Suffragan as his opponent but he stated in a letter to Carmer of January 19, 1776 (*loc. cit.*): “ In ecclesiastical matters we shall not refuse to subordinate ourselves to the Bishops.”

¹ Extract from Strachwitz’s letter in LEHMANN, V., 111 *seq.*, No. 160.

² *Ibid.*, 112 *seq.*, No. 161.

³ Cabinet letter of March 17, 1776, to Strachwitz, *ibid.*, 115 *seq.*, No. 165.

⁴ Conference protocol of June 5, 1776, *ibid.*, 130 *seqq.*, No. 186; GRÜNHAGEN, II., 505 *seq.*

by Strachwitz¹ the king ruled that the Bishop "might be taken into consultation in the setting up of the Jesuit teaching system, but only as a matter of form".² Carmer and Hoym now wrote a joint letter to the Bishop defining his sphere of influence, which was limited to purely spiritual matters and theology; he was to refrain from any interference in the teaching of secular subjects.³ The Administrator again demanded the extension of his sphere of influence on the ground that the "Gymnasium" and philosophy were preliminary stages of theology⁴ but his request was not successful.⁵

On the basis of the above-mentioned principles and a section on organization contributed by Zeplichal, the well-known jurist Svarez elaborated an instruction which was published on August 25th, 1776, and was to serve as a supplement to the School Order of December 11th, 1774.⁶ According to this the ex-Jesuits were to stay combined as a body, under the name of "Priests of the Royal Schools Institute". They could accept new members and train them as professors. They were assured of the undisturbed possession of the former estates of the Society. The schools commission was to be dependent on the king alone, and the curator of the university was *ex officio* its president. To ensure that due respect was paid to the rights of the Bishop, his co-operation in all matters appertaining to religion was precisely defined in the new

¹ On March 27, 1776 (*Garampi to Pallavicini, Dresden, May 24, 1776, Cifre, Nunziat. di Polonia 127, Papal Secret Archives) and on June 19, 1776 (LEHMANN, V., 141 *seq.*, No. 191).

² Cabinet order of June 26, 1776, to Carmer and Hoym, in LEHMANN, V., 143, No. 194.

³ July 2, 1776, *ibid.*, 143 *seq.*, No. 195.

⁴ Correspondence between Carmer and Hoym on August 14, 1776, *ibid.*, 149 *seq.*, No. 200.

⁵ Strachwitz to Carmer, August 1, 1776, *ibid.*, 147, No. 199.

⁶ "Instruction für die Priester des königlichen Schulens-Institutes in Schlesien, als ein Anhang zu dem allerhöchsten Schulen-Reglement d.d. 11. Dezember 1774," *ibid.*, 156 *seq.*, No. 208.

instruction.¹ His right to supervise religious instruction and the theological faculty was recognized, and he was given the right to complain to the schools commission in the event of a member grossly offending against faith or morals. The dean and professors of theology were to obtain the advice and instruction of the Bishop concerning methods, textbooks, time-table, and the like. The annual lists of lectures and written works of a theological nature were also to be submitted for his approval. On the other hand, he was not to intervene in the management of the lay faculties. In their occupation of ecclesiastical offices the ex-Jesuits were subject to the Ordinary, like the rest of the secular clergy. Priests about to be employed in the cure of souls were to be presented to the Ordinary² and he could apply to the commission for their transfer.³ The schools institute was obliged to maintain twelve candidates for the teaching profession at the university of Breslau. The rectors of the university and the Gymnasia were to be appointed by the royal commissary. The directors of the Gymnasia were responsible for the maintenance of discipline and the supervision of the instruction.⁴

Letters written at this time by unknown ex-Jesuits testify to their satisfaction with the new system, which they ascribed to the king's clemency and his Ministers' sense of justice.⁵ Bishop Strachwitz was not so content.⁶ His relations with

¹ Carmer to the Cabinet, August 25, 1776, *ibid.*, 156, No. 207.

² The right of presentation was transferred to the Schools Commission as the legal successor of the Society of Jesus. Cabinet order of July 27, 1777, *ibid.*, 220 *seq.*, No. 285.

³ Garampi admitted in a report to Strachwitz that he had accomplished a great deal but that there was still much to be settled. The majority of the ex-Jesuits, he said, were on his side against Zeplichal, who had withheld the obedience due to him (probably by entering another diocese). *Garampi to Pallavicini, October 2, 1776, Nunziat. di Germania 423, Papal Secret Archives.

⁴ *Latin translation, *ibid.* Cf. GRÜNHAGEN, II., 506 *seq.*

⁵ Wratislaviae, July 15 and 28, October 18, 1776, in Jesuit possession, Bohem. 203, *Hist. Soc.*, 226.

⁶ Cf. *Garampi to Pallavicini, October 2, 1776, Nunziat. di Germania, Papal Secret Archives.

Carmer, the Minister of Justice, continued to be strained, Carmer jealously guarding the rights of the State,¹ and the latter was not content until Entzendorffer, the chancellor of the university, who took the prelate's part, was removed to the parish of Krenzendorf.² On the other hand, the Minister was careful not to give the ecclesiastical authorities cause for complaint. When in 1778 Zedlitz applied for the transfer from Mainz to the university of Breslau of Professor Isenbiehl, who was suspected of heterodoxy, Carmer made it a condition that Isenbiehl became a member of the schools institute and gave guarantees of his orthodoxy to the suffragan Bishop. By this means he caused the project to collapse.³ Rome appeared to accommodate itself to the new system, once its main object, the secularization of the Jesuits, had been attained.⁴

The corporation of the "Priests of the Royal Schools Institute" remained in existence for twenty-four years. By the law of July 26th, 1800, made by Frederick William III., it was dissolved,⁵ the teachers became paid servants of the State, the teacherships were thrown open to Catholic laymen, the Catholic school board was formed for the control of the Catholic schools in Silesia, and the funds of the institute were transferred in perpetuity to the Roman Catholic Silesian School Fund, the management of which was entrusted to the State Provincial Administration.⁶

¹ *Garampi to Pallavicini, May 24, 1776, *ibid.*

² Carmer to Strachwitz, November 12, 1776, in LEHMANN, V., 173 *seq.*, No. 222.

³ Correspondence between Zedlitz and Carmer, February 24-March 8, 1778, *ibid.*, 255 *seqq.*, No. 338; GRÜNHAGEN, II., 507.

⁴ Cf. *Garampi to Pallavicini, October 19, 1780, Nunziat. di Germania, 397, *loc. cit.*

⁵ THEINER'S *Gesch. der geistl. Bildungsanstalten* (291) and the works mentioned on p. 189, n. 1, should be amended accordingly.

⁶ KORN, *Neue Sammlung aller in Schlesien und Glatz ergangenen und publizierten Verordnungen, Edikte . . . VIII.*, Breslau, 1804, 90 *seqq.*; WITTE, 104 *seqq.*; PORSCHE, *Die Unterdrückung des Jesuitenordens in Schlesien*, in the *Archiv für kathol. Kirchenrecht*, 74 (1895), 177; RUDOLPHI, 63 *seq.*

Frederick II.'s hope of winning the Jesuits' gratitude by extending his protection to them in the hour of their persecution was duly fulfilled. Many among their ranks in Prussia supported him and ardently admired him, and for so doing they have been censured more than once by zealous Catholics of our own time.¹ Though it cannot be recorded of them that they broke new ground in the realms of knowledge² they were not deficient in a genuine proficiency in the humanities. "With the university and their Gymnasia they provided the Catholic population of Silesia with an education which stood the test of Frederick the Great's acute observation. Though the specifically Christian life was something he could not understand, he would have regarded it as the greatest of misfortunes if the originators of this education had left the country. The Leopoldina has become a pillar of the Church in Silesia—and this is saying a great deal."³

Up to the year 1776 the Jesuits in the various parts of Prussia had shared a common lot, but with the execution of the Brief of suppression in Silesia their ways divided.

On receiving the instruction from Frederick II. to obtain for the Bishops in West Prussia the same powers as those enjoyed by the Administrator Strachwitz, the agent Ciofani replied that the Pope had already anticipated the prince's wish by instructing the nuncio to Warsaw to advise these Bishops to transform the Jesuit colleges in their dioceses in the manner of Breslau.⁴ Together with the notice of the execution of the Brief in Silesia the agent received the news that in the kingdom of Prussia and the duchy of Cleves no

¹ GRÜNHAGEN, II., 499.

² In spite of their difficult financial situation the Silesian Jesuits were not quite so unproductive as Grünhagen (II., 508), probably relying on Reinkens (103 *seqq.*), would have them appear. Cf. PELZEL, *Böhmische, mährische und schlesische Gelehrte und Schriftsteller aus dem Orden der Jesuiten*, Prague, 1786.

³ REIKENS, 117; MENZEL, *Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen*, VI., 70 *seq.*; THEINER, *Gesch. der geistl. Bildungsanstalten*, 51.

⁴ Ciofani's report of February 3, 1776, in LEHMANN, V., 96., No. 139.

alteration as yet had been made in the Society's dress and that the Jesuits were in possession of their properties just as they were before.¹ This state of affairs was to endure for four years more. The chief reason for this anomaly seems to have been the fear that in the event of suppression the neighbouring States would confiscate the properties of the Prussian Jesuits situated in their territories. As Frederick had sequestrated the properties of foreign colleges in his States and had assigned them to his own board of revenue,² the other States, such as Austria and the Prince-Bishopric of Münster, had exercised their right of reprisal.³

Meanwhile, Giovanni Andrea Archetti had arrived in Warsaw as Garampi's successor, with strict instructions from the Cardinal Secretary of State, who was completely under the influence of Spain, to see that there was no more delay in putting the Brief *Dominus ac Redemptor* into execution. Archetti duly played his part by spurring on the Bishops and the Jesuits in turn. The latter replied that they were ready to submit but that the difficulty lay with the Bishops, not

¹ Ministerial decree of April 27, 1776, to Ciofani, *ibid.*, 122 seq., No. 176. Assuming that the Vicar Apostolic of Breslau wielded jurisdiction over all the Prussian States, the nuncio Bellisomi had not approached the Archbishop of Cologne. *Bellisomi to Pallavicini, April 4, 1776, Nunziat. di Colonia, 193, Papal Secret Archives.

² Royal ordinance of October 8 and December 8, 1773, in LEHMANN, IV., 556, No. 532 and 572, No. 547. Cf. Zedlitz to the Cabinet on May 3, 1774, together with the Cabinet order of May 5, 1774, *ibid.*, IV., 602, No. 586.

³ *Rector Classen of Emmerich to the nuncio Busca on May 14, 1778, Nunziat. di Fiandra 135, Papal Secret Archives; DIETRICH, *Die Ausführung des Breve "Dominus ac Redemptor" vom 21. Juli 1773 in Westpreussen und Ermland*, in the *Zeitschr. f. Gesch. und Altertumskunde Ermlands*, XII. (1897), 167 seqq. According to the report of the Procurator Hübner the possessions of the West Prussian Jesuits (excluding Ermeland) in Poland were worth 43,333 rix-dollars, those of the Polish colleges in West Prussia, 123,838 rix-dollars. LEHMANN, V., 19, No. 25.

with them. The Bishop of Ermeland, they alleged, had commanded them to retain their dress and their religious status so as not to provoke the king's displeasure.¹ The Cardinal Secretary of State's instructions grew more urgent the more the Bourbon ambassadors insisted with the utmost vehemence that the events in Russia were not to be repeated in Prussia.² When it became known that a noviciate had been opened in Polotsk the permission which had formerly been granted for the Jesuits living in community to be employed according to their capabilities³ was withdrawn and Bishop Bajer was instructed not to allow them to teach or to undertake the cure of souls until they had been secularized. He was to endeavour to persuade the king to have the Brief of suppression executed in the same way as in Silesia.⁴ Whereas the Bishops of Ermeland and Kujavia persisted in their passivity⁵ the Bishop of Kulm appealed to the king.⁶ Before the petition put forward by the Jesuits of Graudenz for permission to retain their status had been dispatched to Berlin⁷ the monarch had made his decision: he was willing

¹ *Fr. Willich to Archetti, May 25 and October 5, 1778, January 24, 1779, Nunziat. di Polonia, 105, Papal Secret Archives.

² Cf. below, pp. 205 *seqq.*

³ *Pallavicini to Archetti, August 24, 1779, Nunziat. di Polonia, 47, *loc. cit.*

⁴ *Pallavicini to Archetti, September 11 and 18, October 9, 1779, *ibid.*; *Archetti to Bajer, October 3, 1779, *ibid.*, 84; *Archetti to Krasizki, October 10, 1779, *ibid.* The report in the *Gazette de Cologne* that Garampi, authorized by Clement XIV., had allowed the Bishop of Kulm to leave the Jesuits in his diocese in their former conditions, was denied in the Roman *Cracas* and in the *Gazette de France*. *Doria to Pallavicini, November 8 and 15, 1779, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 569, *loc. cit.*

⁵ *Pallavicini to Archetti, December 11, 1779, Nunziat. di Polonia, 47, *ibid.*

⁶ On December 4, 1779, LEHMANN, V., 323 *seq.*, No. 421. DIETRICH, *loc. cit.*, XII., 147 *seqq.*

⁷ On December 15, 1779, LEHMANN, V., 331, No. 427: DIETRICH, 148.

to refer the question of dress and title to the will of the Pope but the essence of the Institute must be preserved as in Silesia.¹ On January 17th, 1780, Bishop Bajer had the suppression carried out in Graudenz and Marienburg in accordance with the king's intentions, and he reported that with this everyone was satisfied.² Shortly afterwards the Jesuits in West Prussia appealed to Frederick to have them organized in the Silesian manner, otherwise the divergences between the bishoprics would make a uniform system of education impossible.³ The Coadjutor Bishop of Kulm, Count Hohenzollern, who was to make the necessary arrangements,⁴ was willing to undertake the task but could not conceal the difficulties of a financial and personal nature that obstructed the execution of the plan.⁵ The Bishops of Ermeland and Kujavia, Krasizki and Rybinski, showed no inclination to effect any change.⁶ Archetti's attempts to move the Bishop

¹ Cabinet letter to Bajer, December 12, 1779, in LEHMANN, V., 326, No. 421; Cabinet letters to the Coadjutor Bishop Hohenzollern, December 5 and 12, 1779, *ibid.*, 326 *seq.*, Nos. 422 and 423; Cabinet letter to Zedlitz, December 21, 1779, *ibid.*, 340, No. 430.

² Bajer to the Cabinet, January 27, 1780, *ibid.*, 344, No. 437.

³ Before January 27, 1780, *ibid.*, 344, No. 438.

⁴ On January 27, 1780, *ibid.*

⁵ Hohenzollern's letter of February 5, 1780, *ibid.*, 345 *seq.*, No. 439.

⁶ Hohenzollern to Domhardt, March 29, 1780, *ibid.*, 364, No. 461. Hohenzollern had made these same *complaints to the nuncio Archetti on March 6, pointing out that in return for his protection of the Catholic Church Frederick II. deserved to have his royal title recognized by the Pope; Nunziat. di Polonia, 324, *loc. cit.*; DIETRICH, *loc. cit.*, 152 *seq.*; EHRENBERG, *Italianische Beiträge*, 144; further *correspondence with Garampi on the subject of the royal title in the Papal Secret Archives, Nunziat. di Germania, 401, 411. When dealing with the nuncio, Hohenzollern posed as the zealous champion of the Church's interests, in his relations with the king he tried to appear as a promoter of education and Germanism. Hohenzollern to Frederick II., September 5,

of Ermeland were without effect.¹ His correspondence shows that his delay was not due entirely to indifference and jealousy but partly also to solicitude for the future of Catholic higher education, since there were many cases of Jesuits declining to continue, as secular priests, the exhausting work of teaching unless they were assured of a competence.² Similar misgivings were expressed by Bishop Rybinski, of Kujavia. He cited the examples of Graudenz and Marienburg, where it was necessary to have recourse to compulsory measures to keep the teachers in the schools. If the king withdrew the prohibition against the publication of the Brief which had been issued to his predecessor he would conform, but he would not put up with any encroachment on his jurisdictional territory by Count Hohenzollern.³ If it was intended to set up a schools institute on the Silesian model it was imperative to have at least a uniform method of procedure. Accordingly, a Cabinet decree of May 1st, 1780, ordained that the Government of West Prussia was to refrain from any intervention in the Jesuit affair, as it had been committed to the exclusive care of Bishop Hohenzollern and Oberpräsident Domhardt.⁴ When the Coadjutor again brought to the king's notice the difficulties with which he was faced ⁵ Frederick instructed the authorities by a Cabinet order of May 20th to inform the recalcitrant Bishops that in the matter of their name and dress the Jesuits of West Prussia were to be placed on the same footing as those in Silesia.⁶ Thereupon, in the course of June and July, the Official Karl von Zehmen published the Brief of suppression in

1785, and May 5, 1786, in LEHMANN, V., 668, No. 864, and 689, No. 890; *Antonelli to Saluzzo, May 16 and July 4, 1789, Nunziat. di Polonia, 71, *loc. cit.*

¹ Archetti to Pallavicini, April 26, 1780, in EHRENBERG, 149 *seqq.*

² DIETRICH, *loc. cit.*, 155 *seq.*

³ Rybinski to Frederick II., before May 15, 1780, in LEHMANN, V., 369; DIETRICH, 156.

⁴ LEHMANN, V., 367, No. 466.

⁵ On May 13, 1780, *ibid.*, 368, No. 468.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 371, No. 473.

the Jesuit establishments in the diocese of Ermeland.¹ This was also done by the Bishops of Gnesen and Kujavia in their dioceses.²

For the ex-Jesuits in West Prussia the situation after the suppression developed less favourably than for those in Silesia. On returning to his bishopric at the end of July Prince-Bishop Krasizki found the Jesuits already secularized but in a deplorable condition. Except for thirty who had secured employment as teachers on a barely adequate salary they were quite abandoned and were without means of support. "This is what my neighbours' zeal has done," wrote the Bishop to Canon Ghiotti in Warsaw.³ The confiscation of their properties in foreign territories had shattered the material foundations of their existence.⁴ Oberpräsident Domhardt reported on June 5th, 1780, that the revenues of all eight colleges in West Prussia and Ermeland amounted to 8,000 rix-dollars, of which 6,493 were secure. For the eighty-seven members, however, it was calculated that 15,755 rix-dollars would be necessary, wherefore the Coadjutor Count Hohenzollern "made so bold" as to suggest that the Government should make good the deficit with an annual grant.⁵ Archetti,

¹ DIETRICH, 159; LÜHR, *Die Rektoren des Jesuitenkollegs zu Rössel*, in the *Ermländ. Zeitschr.*, XVIII. (1913), 46; POSCHMANN, *Das Jesuitenkolleg in Rössel* (1932), 148 seqq.

² In the duchy of Cleves the Brief seems never to have been promulgated. As late as May 18, 1784, the head of the college at Emmerich signed a *receipt: "Wilhelmus Classen S.J. p.t. Minister Collegii," State Archives, Düsseldorf, Emmerich, Klöster, Jesuiten, Akten 34.—In 1788 the school was transferred to the Crociati, as all the Fathers but three had died. KÖHLER, *Rückblick auf die Entwicklung des höheren Schulwesens in Emmerich* (1892), 63.

³ DIETRICH, 162.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 167 seq.

⁵ Domhardt to the Cabinet, June 5, 1780, in LEHMANN, V., 373 seqq., No. 478; Hohenzollern's letter of June 6, 1780, *ibid.*, 378, No. 480. In a statement drawn up in 1773 the receipts of the eight Prussian colleges are given as 5,572 rix-dollars, but it must be remembered that these colleges, like all ecclesiastical properties,

who had been apprised of Krasizki's letter, thought that his description of the situation was exaggerated,¹ but the report he received from Laszki, the Rector at Braunsberg, made him change his opinion. It was to be feared, said Laszki, that the Literary Institute would be dissolved before it had been properly constituted. No provision had been made for the sick or the aged; the teachers had been *promised* 170 rix-dollars. Some of the ex-Jesuits had already left Prussia and had taken up employment as teachers or with noble families in Poland in order to gain their livelihood. Count Hohenzollern was asking for seven teachers for each of the large colleges at Braunsberg and Altschottland (near Danzig) and for three teachers for each of the other six, but few of those who had stayed behind were fit to teach the humanities, and there were still fewer who could teach philosophy and theology in a worthy manner.² For the moment the nuncio could think of nothing better than to recommend the ex-Jesuits to the Coadjutor in the hope that he would obtain for them a decent stipend.³ In December 1780 came the joyful news that the payment of the teachers' salaries had been decreed and that provision was also being made for the sick and aged⁴ but by July 1781 nothing had materialized.⁵ It appears that on the Government taking over the Jesuit estate the economic situation gradually improved.

To effect this a two-fold object had to be attained by Hohenzollern and the Government: the creation of a material basis by the reorganization of the finances and the internal organization of the Institute. Nearly eighteen months went by before the constitution of the *Institutum litterarium* had

were charged with contributions to the amount of 50 per cent of their income. *Ibid.*, V., 563, No. 539. Cf. RUDOLPHI, 64.

¹ Archetti to Pallavicini, August 9, 1780, in EHRENBURG, 182.

² *Laszki to Archetti, August 26, 1780, Nunziat. di Polonia, 9, Papal Secret Archives.

³ Archetti to Pallavicini, September 13, 1780, in EHRENBURG, 184.

⁴ EHRENBURG, 188.

⁵ *Laszki to Archetti, July 2, 1781, *loc. cit.*

been worked out in its main outlines. The "General Regulation for the Catholic Gymnasias established in West Prussia in place of the former Jesuit Colleges" ¹ was expressly modelled on the Silesian school system though it could not be applied without alteration owing to the insufficient revenues and the ignorance of the German language. After the dissolution of the union within the Order which had existed hitherto the Gymnasias would be combined into a common schools institute, the general superintendence of which would be entrusted to the Coadjutor Bishop Count Hohenzollern. As there had been no Catholic university in West Prussia and the available resources did not allow of a new foundation, the schools of Braunsberg and Altschottland would be raised to the status of academic Gymnasias at which theological students could complete their studies with a three-year course in philosophy and a four-year course in theology. Among the new branches of study to be introduced were history, geography, and theological encyclopædics. The teachers were especially enjoined to promote the study of German and Latin and, if possible, Greek too. To improve the salaries of the professors a moderate fee should be exacted from the non-theologians, as was done by the Protestants. No cleric was to receive a parochial appointment until he had completed the prescribed course at Braunsberg or Schottland, with the exception of Kulm, where there was a training college. At the head of the institute, for whose members a life in community was prescribed, there was to be a director, as in Silesia, who was to superintend the eight establishments, propose alterations in the regulations, and recommend capable candidates for any vacancies that might occur. The Minister Zedlitz rightly pointed out that so many subjects could hardly be mastered by so few persons and that the 300 rix-dollars earmarked for the five persons in Graudenz were not sufficient.² In spite of these objections the draft received the king's approval on

¹ DIETRICH, 164.

² Marienwerder, JUNE 1, 1781, in LEHMANN, V., 433 *seqq.*, No. 571.

March 5th, 1781.¹ Count Hohenzollern would have liked to have one of the Silesian ex-Jesuits as director, deeming them to be more patriotic than the Poles,² but his request was not granted and the post was given to the Rector of the Papal College at Braunsberg, Peter Laszki.³ If the Bishop's reports are to be believed, the Literary Institute flourished so lustily that it supplied as good candidates for "military, civil, and ecclesiastical careers" as the Fatherland could wish for. At Schottland German, French, Polish, history, and geography were taught as well as theology, philosophy, and the humanistic subjects.⁴ Thanks to the energetic co-operation of the director, Raffalski, the scholars had made great progress in German, although four years before they had not had the slightest knowledge of the language.⁵ Nevertheless, the Bishop did not succeed in inducing the authorities to support the schools financially. His complaints about the poor pay of the teachers⁶ elicited the reply that it was a mistake to distribute 8,000 rix-dollars among seven Gymnasia, as this meant that none of them received an adequate income. It was better to have one well-endowed Gymnasium with a sufficient number of capable teachers than seven poorly-endowed establishments with barely adequate staffs. Hohenzollern's comment, not entirely unjustified, was that this would mean leaving five-sixths of the population without any place of higher education in order to give the remaining sixth an exemplary one.⁷

¹ Zedlitz to the Cabinet, January 18, 1781, *ibid.*, 408, No. 533.

² Cabinet order, March 5, 1781, to Finckenstein and Korckwitz, *ibid.*, 425 *seq.*, No. 559.

³ Letter of February 5, 1780, *ibid.*, 344, No. 438.

⁴ The Literary Institute had three directors in the course of its existence: Laszki (1780-6), Raffalski (1786-1804), Malewski (1804-1810). BRAUN, *Gesch. des Gymnasiums zu Braunsberg* (1865), 61.

⁵ Hohenzollern's letter of September 5, 1785, in LEHMANN, V., 668, No. 864.

⁶ Hohenzollern's letter of May 5, 1786, *ibid.*, 869, No. 890.

⁷ *Aide-mémoire* of Hohenzollern's, January 30, 1787, *ibid.*, VI., 35 *seq.*, No. 42.

Like other bodies, the Schools Institute had to suffer from the maladministration of the finances under Frederick's successor. Frederick II.'s assurance that he would see to the maintenance of the buildings, for which the funds of the institute were insufficient, was afterwards ignored. At Deutsch-Krone (Valcz), where Major von Kleist was educated, a wing had already collapsed, and at Konitz part of the buildings had been taken away from the Gymnasium and had been allotted as lodgings to General Arnaud.¹ Hohenzollern's request for the order to be given to the Bishops not to admit members of the Schools Institute to the diocesan clergy without their formal discharge and to allow competent young clerics to join the Institute, points clearly enough to its decline.² Under the rectorship of the ageing Laszki the Papal College also fell away, the discipline and economy leaving much to be desired,³ and it was feared that the Government would either take it over or close it altogether.⁴ The Rector had repeatedly offered to resign⁵ but Rome was unwilling to part so easily with this well-deserving priest,⁶ who for years had been the confidential agent of Garampi and Archetti, so he was given an assistant⁷ to relieve him of the bulk of the administrative business. However, the negotiations went on so long⁸ that

¹ Hohenzollern to the Oberschulkollegium, September 12, 1788, *ibid.*, 312 *seqq.*, No. 264.

² *Ibid.*, 313.

³ Hohenzollern to the Oberschulkollegium, September 22, 1789, *ibid.*, 426 *seqq.*, No. 362. In 1810 the *Institutum Litterarium* was closed down. BRAUN, *loc. cit.*

⁴ *Saluzzo to the Propaganda, March 12, 1788, Nunziat. di Polonia, 78, *loc. cit.*; *Antonelli to Saluzzo, April 12, 1788, *ibid.*, 71.

⁵ *Antonelli to Saluzzo, April 26, 1788, *ibid.*

⁶ *Saluzzo to the Propaganda, June 11, 1788, *ibid.*, 78. Further reports of Saluzzo's of 1788-9, *ibid.*

⁷ In the person of Canon Lewicki. BENDER, *Gesch. der philos. u. theol. Studien in Ermland* (1868), 117.

⁸ Cf. *Saluzzo to the Propaganda, April 2, 1788, *loc. cit.*; *Antonelli to Saluzzo, May 13 and July 12, 1788, May 16, 1789,

Laszki, much to the annoyance of the nuncio, finally went off unexpectedly to take charge of a parish.¹ Two years later a final settlement was arranged to the satisfaction of both parties.²

Between 1794 and 1797 the Protestant Consistory requested the Government to use the South Prussian Jesuit funds for the erection of a training college for teachers, two Gymnasias, and a Protestant school. The application was turned down by the Minister Hoym before it could reach the king.³ When, in 1796, a fund was formed in South Prussia by the sale of the Jesuit properties, Frederick William II. ruled that it should be increased by half of the amount that had hitherto been paid out of the Silesian Jesuit fund to the Protestant universities.⁴

(2)

In Russia, as in Prussia, the Jesuits survived.

Bohemian Jesuits had founded a Catholic community in St. Petersburg in 1715, but since 1719, when Peter the Great, in his rage with Leopold I., had expelled the missionaries, the Society had had no establishment in Russia.⁵ With the annexation of the right bank of the Dūna at the partition of Poland in 1772 twenty Jesuit houses, with 201 members of the Society, suddenly found themselves under Russian rule,⁶ with no idea of their future.

ibid., 71. It was also feared in Rome that Bishop Hohenzollern would lay hands on the college at Braunsberg or at any rate completely Germanize it (*Antonelli to Saluzzo, July 4, 1789; *ibid.*).

¹ *Saluzzo to the Propaganda, October 13, 1790, and September 14, 1791, *ibid.*, 78.

² *Saluzzo to the Propaganda, September 19, 1792, *ibid.*

³ RUDOLPHI, 16.

⁴ *Ibid.* By 1805 there were only eighteen philosophers and sixteen theologians in Braunsberg. BENDER, 121.

⁵ PIERLING, *La Russie et le Saint-Siège*, IV., 292 *seqq.* Cf. our account, vol. XXXIII, 370.

⁶ PIERLING, V., 40. *ROZAVEN, *Les Jésuites de la Russie-Blanche*, p. 2, original in the Archives of the Galician Province,

Seven years before, Catherine II. had written to Voltaire ¹ that all confessions were free to practise their religions in Russia, with the sole exception of the Jesuits, who were not tolerated. Now, when strictly orthodox Catholic monarchs were driving these religious out of their countries as if they were carriers of the plague, what was to be expected of the studious pupil of the Encyclopedists who had imbibed along with their philosophical ideas their bitter prejudices against the outlawed Society? At first she viewed these "crafty people", as she called them, with complete dislike and distrust and advised the authorities to keep a secret watch on them,² but thanks to her abnormal perspicacity she soon lost these prejudices. In emulation of the other "enlightened" rulers her ambition was to raise Russia to the status of a cultured nation by means of widespread education. This new acquisition presented her with a unique opportunity of achieving her object and of thus winning the gratitude and admiration of the masses. Opportunist as she was she had no hesitation in reversing her attitude and in suppressing her distaste for the sake of practical politics. In this she had the support of the men of her circle, in particular Count Zacharias Czerniszew, whom she had just appointed Governor General of White Russia. A "*grand seigneur*" of broad views and large ideas, having at heart the welfare of the population placed under his control, he devoted his chief attention to the instruction and training of the young. It was this that brought him into touch with the Jesuits. After he had made their closer acquaintance on a visit to their principal college at Polotsk, he became their most ardent protector and truest friend. Against manifold opposition he secured their survival,

now Polonia Minor. The pages referred to below are those of a copy placed at our disposal. GAGARIN, *Récit d'un Jésuite de la Russie-Blanche*, 2. Cf. *Garampi to Macedonio, September 22, 1773, Nunziat. di Polonia, 58, Papal Secret Archives.

¹ On August 22, 1765. Catherine II.'s correspondence with Voltaire, History of Russia, F 14, No. 294, State Library, St. Petersburg.

² PIERLING, V., 42.

as they themselves acknowledged in their annals, where they invariably write of him in terms of praise.¹

The first occasion on which the Jesuits were brought into contact with their new civil Government was when they were faced with the alternative of taking or withholding the oath of allegiance. In the autumn of 1772 they, along with the other inhabitants of the annexed provinces, had either to swear allegiance to the Czarina or emigrate to Poland: a momentous question which had to be answered at once. Religious and patriotic feelings struggled for supremacy with material cares and fears for the future. There was nothing the Government feared so much as a demonstrative mass-emigration, which would have solidified opposition to the civil authorities of White Russia. To retain as many of the inhabitants as possible reassuring proclamations were made, with promises of religious freedom; these, it was hoped, would appeal especially to the nobility and the clergy. Nevertheless, Bishop Towianski, who as the Suffragan of Vilna was in charge at Polotsk, decided, along with several Canons, to return to Poland to demonstrate his patriotism and to protest against the forcible separation of this territory from the rest of Poland. The Jesuits, on the other hand, could not bring themselves to abandon their posts, leaving their schools without teachers and the people without pastors. They preferred to expose themselves to the reproaches of over-excited patriots rather than leave the faithful to face unsupported the dangers that threatened. Their example was followed by numerous members of the clergy and nobility, and the Russian Government's mistrust vanished forthwith.² Shortly after the oath of allegiance had been taken delegates of the various classes of the people had to go to St. Petersburg to do homage to the empress. The Uniats were represented by Archbishop

¹ *Ibid.*, 43 seq.

² *ROZAVEN, 4; GAGARIN, 5 seq.; ZALENSKI-VIVIER, *Les Jésuites de la Russie-Blanche*, I., 241 seqq.; LORET, *Kościół Katolicki a Katarzyna II.*, Cracow and Warsaw, 1910, 21 seqq.; PIERLING, V., 43 seq.

Smogorzewski of Polotsk, the Latins, there being no Latin Bishop in the country, by the Rector of the Jesuit college at Polotsk, Stanislaus Czerniewicz,¹ a man of providential importance for his Society. The character of this commanding personality was made up of sharply contrasting qualities: bustling activity and interior recollection, self-confidence and condescension, firmness and courtesy. His most characteristic quality was his great self-control, which enabled him to retain his composure in difficult situations. In spite of his delicate constitution he had an extraordinary capacity for work. An easy, polished presence was combined with a judicious sense of proportion which he had acquired during his stay of several years with the curia of his Society in Rome.² Accompanied by Fathers Lenkiewicz and Katerbring³ he arrived in St. Petersburg in the late autumn of 1772 and was accorded a very gracious reception by the empress. Through the Senator Teplov they learnt that Catherine, rejecting the request of the Senate, had declared her intention of keeping the Jesuits.⁴ They obtained without difficulty the assurance that the institute would remain intact and that the authority of their General would suffer no detriment as long as it did not conflict with the laws of the State.⁵ This secured the existence of the Society so far as the civil law was concerned, but a danger threatened from another quarter—the Brief of Clement XIV.'s, suppressing the Society.

For a better appreciation of the ensuing events we offer first a brief explanation of their legal aspect. Before a law has binding force it must be officially announced. According to the canon law of the time the promulgation could take place in one of two ways. The law was either posted up in the usual

¹ His patent of nomination is dated August 12, 1769. In Jesuit possession, Russia, I., fasc. I.

² PIERLING, 41 *seq.*

³ He is called Katembring by Rozaven and Zalski-Vivier, Katenbring by Gagarin.

⁴ GAGARIN, 3 *seqq.*; *ROZAVEN, 6 *seq.*; PIERLING, V., 46.

⁵ *Czerniszew to Czerniewicz [December 1772 to January 1773], Nunziat di Polonia, 37, *loc. cit.* PIERLING, V., 46.

places in Rome, whereby it came into force for the whole Church, or it was made known locally and personally. Clement XIII., for example, chose the first method for the promulgation of his monitorium to Parma, to counter any obstruction that might have been made by the Government there.¹ The second method was used for the publication of the decree of the Council of Trent on clandestine marriages. It had to be published in every parish. Where for any reason the official announcement was not made, these marriages continued to be valid. This method of local announcement was chosen by Clement XIV. for the execution of the Brief of suppression. Its regulations did not come into force until they had been officially announced by the Ordinary or his plenipotentiaries in the Society's establishments that lay in his diocese. This was clearly implied in the Brief itself² and was expressly ordered in the Encyclical of August 18th, 1773,³ which was sent with the Brief by the Congregation for the Suppression to all Archbishops and Bishops. No such official publication ever took place in the Jesuit establishments in White Russia. Repeated attempts to have it done were frustrated by the stubborn will of the autocratic empress. There can be no

¹ *Aubeterre to Choiseul, February 3, 1768, Archives of Simancas. Estado, 4565. Cf. our account, vol. XXXVII, 268.

² "Vetamus, ne postquam praesentes Nostrae litterae promulgatae fuerint ac notae redditae, ulus audeat earum executionem suspendere." Brief of suppression, *Institutum Societatis Iesu*, I., Florence, 1892, 326; THEINER, *Epist.*, 400, § 34.

³ "... eadem Congregatio particularis, de mandato Sanctissimi, praesentes litteras ad Amplitudinem Tuam dandas esse praecepit ad hoc, ut A.T. in singulis Domibus, seu Collegiis, et ubicumque in sua dioecesi reperiantur dictae suppressae Societatis Iesu individui, illis in unum congregatis, in qualibet Domo easdem litteras apostolicas suppressionis, et respective deputationis particularis Congregationis rite denuntiet, publicet et int met..." Frequently reprinted. *Instit. Soc. Iesu*, I., 331. SANGUINETI, *La Compagnia di Gesù e sua legale esistenza nella Chiesa*, Roma, 1882. Appendice dei documenti, XL.; *Razón y Fe*, 39 (1914), 211 seq.; ZALENSKI-VIVIER, I., 183 seq.

question, therefore, about the canonical position of the Jesuits in Russia,¹ though it may not have seemed so clear at the time, even to those who were most nearly concerned in it.

The Brief of suppression arrived in Poland about the middle of September 1773. At the end of October, after its acceptance by the Polish Diet, it looked as if it would soon be put into execution.² A few days previously Sobolewski, the Provincial of the Masovian Province, had written to Czerniewicz that as the Brief would presumably be published shortly he would probably not be able to go to White Russia. Czerniewicz, therefore, as the Rector of the largest college, was, he told him, automatically the Vice-Provincial of the Russian part of the Province. It was his duty, with prudence and zeal for the Faith, to maintain the existing order. He prayed that God would give him ample grace to preserve what was left of the Catholic religion and the Society in those parts.³ These last words seem to indicate that the Jesuits in Russia had some hope that there the Society would escape

¹ Canonically noteworthy is the reply given by Mgr. Macedonio on behalf of the Congregation for the Suppression to the nuncio Garampi, when the latter informed him *on November 3, 1773 (Nunziat. di Polonia, 58, *loc. cit.*), that the canonist in the college at Dünaburg, where the Brief had not yet been promulgated, was uneasy in his conscience and asked for secularization and release from the vows. In response to the request for rules for guidance in similar cases Macedonio wrote: "Intorno allo sciogliere dai voti de' Gesuiti, che a Lei facessero ricorso, e ai quali non fosse per anco stato intimato il Breve di soppressione, come ha fatto quello dei Domini Russi Professore di Canon, impartisce il S. Padre all' E. V. tutte le facoltà necessarie e opportune (non però dai voti sostanziali solenni), anche di abilitarli a poter conseguire benefizi ecclesiastici, secondo ch' Ella giudicherà espediente ed opportuno." *Macedonio to Garampi, December 14, 1773, Nunziat. di Polonia, 44, *loc. cit.* Cf. also below, p. 237.

² Cf. our account, vol. XXXVIII, 366 *seq.*

³ Sobolewski to Czerniewicz, October 25, 1773, in Jesuit possession, Russia, I., fasc. I., printed in *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Summarium additionale, 101. Cf. ZALENSKI-VIVIER, I., 252.

the general destruction. On January 18th/29th, 1773, General Kachowski, the Governor of Mohilev, had issued a decree forbidding under pain of heavy penalties the publication of Papal Bulls or any other ordinances of the Roman authorities,¹ and on October 3rd (September 22nd) he had an instruction sent to General Browne, Governor of Livonia, to maintain and protect the Jesuits.² Similar instructions had been given to the authorities of the other provinces.³ At the beginning of October Czerniewicz was informed by Kretchetnikow, Governor of Pskov, that he had been authorized by the empress to assure the Jesuits of her unfailing protection. Her view was that she could hardly rely on the loyalty of her new subjects if she herself did not keep her word and preserve the Society of Jesus, which was so necessary and useful in those parts. Simultaneously, the Governor, who had already forbidden the announcement of Roman decrees, ordered that all copies of the Brief of suppression that had found their way into Russia were to be handed in to him at once.⁴ Also at

¹ *Nunziat. di Polonia, 136, Papal Secret Archives. The decree was based on the imperial ukase of December 14/25, 1772. PIERLING, V., 54; ZALENSKI-VIVIER, I., 246.

² *Browne to Catherine II., September 29 and October 3, 1773, State Archives, St. Petersburg, Foreign Office, XII., 178. Cf. Lacy to Grimaldi, October 29 and November 9, 1773, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6637; printed in *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Summ. add. 96. " *Il est défendu ici de publier la bulle de la cassation des Jésuites." Siestrzencewicz to Garampi, December 31, 1773, Nunziat. di Polonia, 136, *loc. cit.* LORET, 209.—Count George de Browne (1698–1792), Irish soldier of fortune, entered the service of Russia in 1730, was appointed Governor of Livonia by Peter III., was confirmed in the office by Catherine II., and for thirty years to the close of his life administered its affairs with remarkable practical sagacity. (D.N.B.)

³ *Canon Folkmann of Mitau to Garampi, October 18, 1773, Nunziat. di Polonia, 119, *loc. cit.*

⁴ *Kononowicz, Rector of the college at Dünaaburg, to Prince Bishop Giedroyc of Samogitia, November 11, 1773, *ibid.*; **id.* to Garampi, December 15, 1773, *ibid.* Cf. GAGARIN, 9 *seqq.*; ZALENSKI-VIVIER, I., 249. That the Government intended the

about this time Bishop Massalski of Vilna, in whose diocese the college of Polotsk was situated, sent a circular letter to all the Jesuit superiors in this diocese, asking them not to leave their posts or to sell any of their property, to maintain the discipline of the Society, and to fulfil conscientiously all the duties of their offices and charitable foundations until further instructions arrived from the ecclesiastical and civil authorities.¹ The empress firmly refused to give her *exequatur* to Clement XIV.'s Brief, which had been forwarded on October 2nd (September 21st) by Count Stackelberg,² the ambassador to Warsaw, and she treated it as non-existent.

On October 26th, 1773, Czerniewicz, while trying to see his way through the general confusion, received from Kretchetnikow an official summons to St. Petersburg, ostensibly for the purpose of settling some questions of property belonging to the college at Polotsk but actually to discuss the new situation which the Brief had created for the Jesuits.³ From Riga the Rector wrote to Garampi, informing him of what had happened and adding that as the empress had publicly promised her protection to the Jesuits he found himself in a serious dilemma.

prohibition to be taken seriously is seen from the cases of the Provost Przeclawski of Orsza and the parish priest Voyna of Vitebsk, who had received the Brief of suppression from the Consistory of Vilna, with the instruction to publish it in the colleges where they were. As after a few days they had not forwarded the Brief to the authorities, they were immediately expelled from the country. *Smogorzewski to Garampi, May 15, 1774, Nunziat. di Polonia, 141, *loc. cit.*; *Voyna to Smogorzewski, June 28, 1774, *ibid.*; *Spiridowicz to Smogorzewski and Garampi, June 24, *ibid.*; *Przeclawski to Garampi, May 27, 1775, *ibid.*

¹ Warsaw, September 29, 1773. Notarially certified copy in Jesuit possession, Russia I., fasc. II., printed in ZALENSKI-VIVIER, I., 451 *seq.* *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Sum. add. 88; *Razón y Fe*, XXXIX. (1914), 212 *seq.*

² *Stackelberg to Panin, September 21/October 2, 1773, State Archives, Moscow, Foreign Office, III, Warsaw, Réception de Stackelberg.

³ GAGARIN, 18 *seqq.*; *ROZAVEN, 11 *seq.*

To oppose the Government's order would incur the displeasure of the empress ; failure to obey the Brief would amount to opposition to the supreme head of the Church. He accordingly asked the nuncio for advice and instructions.¹ The nuncio, however, preferred not to answer.² Czerniewicz and his companions arrived in the capital on December 16th, 1773, and were informed almost immediately by Czerniszew that the Czarina had taken the Jesuits under her special protection and wanted them to remain in their present condition. On the rector's explaining that this was impossible without falling foul of the Holy See, the Count asked him to consider the matter carefully and to put his wishes in writing before the empress.³ The Jesuits, however, would not abandon their position. Towards the end of the year they presented a petition to the empress, through Czerniszew, pointing out that they would be burdening their conscience with serious guilt if they failed to acquiesce in the Papal Brief or impeded its execution through the medium of a foreign Power. Moreover, they were now a Congregation without a head. The empress was therefore asked to allow them to put aside their name and dress and to obtain permission from the Pope to continue their life in community and their previous labours in the church and school.⁴ A month passed before an answer came. Not that the delay was due to any vacillation on Catherine's part ; her mind had been made up long before. She had already declared quite clearly on November 8th that it was her unalterable will to preserve the Society and its possessions

¹ Dec. 1, 1773, Nunziat. di Polonia, 313, Papal Archives.

² *Garampi to Pallavicini, December 15, 1773, Nunziat. di Polonia, 58, *ibid.* ; *ROZAVEN, 13 ; PIERLING, V., 50.

³ GAGARIN, 20 *seqq.* ; *ROZAVEN, 14 *seq.* ; PIERLING, V., 50.

⁴ Latin translation (undated) in Jesuit possession, Russia, I., fasc. II. ; Italian translation ("Esemplare del cardinale de Bernis"), *ibid.*, fasc. V., and in *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Sum. add. 89 ; *Razón y Fe*, *loc. cit.*, 212 ; supplement to the *Gazeta Warszawska* of May 7, 1774. The translation of the Polish and Russian texts were undertaken by Eugen Otrebski, S.J., to whom my indebtedness is hereby acknowledged.

on Russian soil. Accordingly, the ecclesiastical authorities were forbidden to oppose it in any way or to promulgate the Brief. Senator Teplov was told to convey this order to Bishop Siestrzencewicz by word of mouth, and Czerniszew was to obtain his personal signature as a pledge of his obedience.¹ The compliant Bishop bowed to the imperial will without hesitation.² Through Czerniszew Catherine informed the Jesuits that as she had promised to maintain the *status quo* when taking possession of the new provinces it was her firm intention to preserve the Society in the state it was in at the taking of the oath of allegiance. For this reason she had ordered the Governors not to allow the publication of the Brief.³ The Rector Czerniewicz had utilized the four weeks' interval to write a second letter to the nuncio, on January 16th, 1774, to keep him informed of the course of the negotiations, and he enclosed a copy of the petition to the Czarina and a digest of her reply.⁴ Again no answer came from Garampi.⁵ Instead, an imperial ukase appeared on January 13th/24th regulating the status of the Jesuits in White Russia: they were to remain as they had been before and instruct the young, and they were exempted from paying ground-rent.⁶

¹ Both *documents in the State Archives in St. Petersburg, Foreign Office, XII., 166, French trans. in the *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, X. (1909), 333 seq. Czerniszew's letter is dated Nov. 22, 1773. Cf. PIERLING, V., 51, n. 2; MOROCHKIN, *Die Jesuiten in Russland seit Katharina II.*, 2 vols., St. Petersburg, 1867, 1870 (Russian).

² *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, loc. cit., X., 335. Cf. GODLEWSKI, *Monumenta ecclesiastica Petropolitana*, I., 38 seq. The "Lettre du ci-devant Secrétaire du Métropolitain" reproduced there was written in his own defence by Siestrzencewicz. *Ibid.*, I., 37, n. 1.

³ GAGARIN, 34 seq.; *ROZAVEN, 17 seq.

⁴ *Nunziat. di Polonia, 119, Papal Secret Archives; GAGARIN, 38 seq.; *ROZAVEN, 10 seq.; PIERLING, V., 52.

⁵ *Garampi to Macedonio, February 9, 1774, Nunziat. di Polonia, 58, loc. cit.

⁶ SBORNIK, I (1867), 426; *Czerniszew to Siestrzencewicz, January 18/29, 1774, Nunziat. di Polonia, 119, loc. cit.; *Siestrzencewicz to Garampi, January 7/18, 1774, *ibid.*; *Lacy to Grimaldi, January 24/February 4, 1774, Cifre, Archives of

Siestrzencewicz had been informed by the Rector of the petition to the empress and of her reply and he now advised him to make further representations. But as the Bishop himself had not dared to take this step the Rector also held himself excused, especially as he knew that the advice had not been given in earnest. The Bishop had not only made a verbal promise to the empress to obey her alone and had pledged himself in writing to execute her orders but he had also promised the Court and the Jesuits to plead with the Pope to keep the latter in existence.¹

In accordance with this promise the Bishop reported to the nuncio in Warsaw on January 7th/18th: "Yesterday I received an order from the Czarina to leave the Jesuits as they are. Please, therefore, ask the Pope to relieve their conscience by allowing them to bear the name and dress of the Society of Jesus, to continue living in community, and to minister to the faithful, in short, to do whatever Your Excellency deems suitable in the circumstances." The writer then proceeded to contradict this by saying: "The obligation involved in their vow of obedience to their own Superiors has already ceased, as has also their exemption. In future they will be subject to me. Their representatives, who are here for the moment, are passive in their attitude. I have read myself the memorial to the empress in which they explained their obligations."² The Jesuits' conduct at this period was also

Simancas, Estado, 6638; *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Sum. add. 99; *Gazeta Warszawska*, March 5, 1774.

¹ " *Motivi generali e particolari, per li quali si ritengono i Gesuiti nella Russia Bianca," of March 17, 1774, translated from the Polish, *Nunziat. di Polonia*, 119, *loc. cit.*; *Smogorzewski to Garampi, June 24, 1774, translation, *ibid.*; GAGARIN, 37 *seq.*; supplement to the *Gazeta Warszawska* of May 7, 1774.

² " J'ai reçu hier l'ordre de la part de Sa Majesté Impériale de laisser les Jésuites comme ils sont, et il faut qu'Elle soit obéie. Suppliez, Msgr., Sa Sainteté qu'Elle daigne soulager leur conscience et accorder la dispense de porter le nom et l'habit des Jésuites, d'administrer le service spirituel aux étrangers, et de demeurer en commun; en un mot, en ce que V. E. croit à propos

rather contradictory, which is psychologically understandable, considering their extraordinary situation, deprived of their head and with no guidance by the ecclesiastical authorities. On February 1st, 1774, the Bishop and the Rector came to an arrangement by which their mutual relations were to be defined by means of questions and answers. Their exemption notwithstanding, the Jesuits recognized the Bishop's jurisdiction, so that on this point at least they could comply with Clement XIV.'s Brief with the empress's approval ; they submitted to their Bishop on matters of internal discipline, even in the selection of their Superiors. The arrangement was a true product of the obscurity of the situation. The mutual rights and obligations were not only imprecisely defined but they were capable of divergent interpretations by the two contracting parties. The contradictions are obvious. On the one hand, the Bishop guaranteed the integrity of the Institute and declined to accept the direction of the Society, on the other he transferred his plenary powers to the Rector Czerniewicz for the period of three months, also the duty of maintaining discipline, and he called on him to render a precise report on the personnel, the condition of the colleges, and the promotion of studies. He rejected the proposed appointment of a Vice-Provincial.¹ This agreement appears to be not so much a formal renunciation of the rights of the Society as a provisional measure which, according to the wording, was to have validity only so long as the Brief remained unpromulgated. Even apart from this restriction it can hardly be justified from the theoretical standpoint. Embarrassing misunderstandings were the inevitable result. The more the Jesuits became aware

selon les circonstances. Ils cessent déjà d'être obligés des vœus d'obéissance à leurs Supérieurs homogènes et d'être exemts, et ils dépendront de moi. Leurs députés se trouvent actuellement ici. Ils se sont conduits passivement, et j'ai lu leur mémoire qu'ils ont présenté, et dans lequel ils ont expliqué leurs obligations. La mienne est d'informer V. E., et de lui en donner les nouvelles." Nunziat. di Polonia, 119, *loc. cit.* ; *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Sum. add. 90 *seq.* ; PIERLING, V., 53 *seq.*

¹ "Quinque inter episcopum Mallensem et P. Czerniewicz

of their legal position the more they insisted on the inviolability of their constitutions and the preservation of their exemption. Naturally, this led to complications. When the Bishop attempted to exercise his rights and to dispose of the members

pacta conventa." 1. The Bishop grants the usual spiritual faculties. 2. "Si quidem abolita Societate avulsoque ipsius Capite, Bulla ipsius abolitiva Socios auctoritati Episcoporum subiectos esse voluit, atque Augustissima Imperatrix totius Russiae, quamvis promulgationem eiusdem Bullae nolle in Suis statibus permittere declaraverit, neque nostro supplici libello Suae Maiestati eum in finem porrecto, ut ab eiusmodi proposito recedere dignaretur, ne alioquin discrimini offensae Summi Pontificis obiceremur, se flecti siverit; nihilominus circa id quod attinet ad iurisdictionem E. Vae super Sociis, qui in Collegiis ac Domiciliis Albae Russiae versantur, nihil impedimenti ex parte sua afferendum censuit. Nos itaque, quotquot fines dioeceseos V. Eiae continebimur, eo lubentius potestati ac iurisdictioni E. Vae subiicimus, quo nobis nihil est antiquius ac mandatis S. Sedis in omnibus, quae in nostra potestate sita sunt, sancte obedire, et quo maiora inde in nos emolumenta et solatia profectura promittunt tua, Antistes Illustrissime, doctrina, prudentia et bonitas, quae omnia in te sane sunt eximia. Quare cum iam in te potestatem Praepositi Generalis, cui hactenus parebamus, eminenter vigentem veneremur, rogamus suppliciter, ut nobis mentem suam declarare et constituere velit circa ea, quae tantisper, quamdiu Augustissimae Imperatrici placuerit persistere in sententia impediendae promulgationis Bullae, pro veteri consuetudine ac Instituto agenda nobis sunt, ac imprimis quidnam E. Vae constituendum videtur de Rectoribus ac Superioribus Domieiliorum, qui aetu praesunt, num velit ipsos pergere in suo munere, an alios ipsis substituere eum eadem, qua hactenus pollebant, potestate." R.: "Habetis litteras confirmatorias Celsissimi Reverendissimi Princepis Episcopi Vilmensis circa mensem Octobrem anno praeterito datas." 3. The request for the nomination of a Provincial dependent on the Bishop was refused, on the score of the imperial order to leave everything in its former condition; "nova officia . . . creare non audeo, omnibusque Collegiis cum pastoralis potestate ipse praesidebo." 4. As the Bishop would probably have to stay longer in St. Petersburg, he nominated the Rector Czerniewicz as his representative for three months. He

of the Society as he wished¹ he encountered opposition. Czerniewicz complained to the Governor General about the Bishop's interference with the direction of the Society,² and on November 7th, 1775, Czerniszew reminded Siestrzencewicz that the empress had made the unalterable decision that the Jesuits were not to be molested and were to be left in the state in which they were when White Russia was annexed.³

Finally, we may cast a glance at the behaviour of the nuncio to Warsaw. Garampi must certainly be credited with having made every effort to have the Brief of suppression put into execution in the countries in his jurisdictional area. He lost no time in forwarding a copy of the Brief to the Russian ambassador, Stackelberg,⁴ and he had thoughts of using Sagramoso, a Knight of Malta who had to negotiate with the Court of St. Petersburg on matters connected with the property of his Order, not only to obtain the preservation of the Uniat Church and the regulation of ecclesiastical conditions but also, unofficially, to induce Catherine II. to agree to the suppression of the Jesuits.⁵ We may anticipate events here

was to visit the various colleges and to render a report on the necessary changes of staff and the improvement of studies.

5. The Bishop could not permit the transfer from one diocese to another outside Russia. *Nunziat. di Polonia*, 136, *loc. cit.*; printed in *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Sum. add. 92-5; PIERLING, V., 54 *seq.*

¹ Siestrzencewicz afterwards told the nuncio himself that on this occasion he had declined to take over the direction of the Society. *December 20, 1777, *Nunziat. di Polonia*, 61, *loc. cit.*

² *Czerniewicz to Czerniszew, October 31, 1775. Cf. *Czerniszew to Czerniewicz in November 1775. Translation in *Nunziat. di Polonia*, 141, *loc. cit.*

³ *Czerniszew to Siestrzencewicz, November 7, 1775. Translation, *ibid.*, printed in LORET, 262; MOROCHKIN, I., 123.

⁴ *Stackelberg to Panin, September 21/October 2, 1773, State Archives, Moscow, Foreign Office, III., Warsaw, Réception, September 1773.

⁵ *Garampi to Pallavicini, September 29, 1773, *Nunziat. di Polonia*, 292, Papal Secret Archives. In the instruction, which was made out when Clement XIV. was still alive, no mention

by saying that Sagramoso's mission did not take place till 1775 and, so far as the Jesuit question was concerned, was completely unsuccessful.¹ Nor was the nuncio more successful with the Russian ambassador. Stackelberg refused to talk, having presumably been forbidden by his Court to discuss the matter.² Because of the serious difficulties that beset the execution of the Brief in Russia and Prussia, Garampi was against compelling the Jesuits to submit by means of canonical penalties or public pronouncements,³ and Pallavicini was able to reassure him on this point.⁴ On November 11th, 1773, the Rector of the Jesuit College at Dünaburg had asked the Bishop of Livonia, Stephan Giedroyc, for instructions.⁵ As the Bishop persisted in maintaining silence, the Rector, on December 15th, turned to the nuncio. All his subjects, he told him, were ready to obey the Papal edicts but the Governor Kretchetnikow had forbidden the publication of the Brief and had promised them the empress's protection. He asked to be told the course he was to pursue in this conflict between the ecclesiastical and civil powers. They were resolved to emigrate, if necessary.⁶ Through the Bishop, Garampi commended the questioner on his good intentions but told him that the Jesuits could not rest with an easy conscience if they did not comply with the orders of the ecclesiastical authority. Wherefore they

was made of the Jesuit question, for motives of prudence. *Pallavicini to Garampi, May 28, 1774, *ibid.*, 45 ; *Clement XIV. to Sagramoso, *ibid.*, 37 ; Pallavicini to Sagramoso, *ibid.*, 316, printed in LORET, 227-249. In No. 18 (LORET, 234) the toleration of the *exequatur* was conceded ("la S. Sede non lo riprova").

¹ Cf. PIERLING, V., 64-80 ; GENDRY, *Pie VI.*, vol. I., 333 *seqq.*

² *Garampi to Macedonio, October 27, 1773, and January 12, 1774, Nunziat. di Polonia, 58, *loc. cit.*

³ Garampi to Macedonio, November 3, 1773, *ibid.*, 53 ; THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 408 *seqq.*

⁴ " *Il Papa è assai alieno dal procedere in subiecta materia a quelle rimbombanti e positive dichiarazioni ch'Ella saviamente sconsiglia " (December 4, 1773), Nunziat. di Polonia, 44, *loc. cit.*

⁵ **Ibid.*, 119.

⁶ **Ibid.*, 119.

must press the civil power with all earnestness for the liberty to submit themselves to the Pope's commands and to don secular dress. Meanwhile, however, they were not to neglect the schools and their cure of souls. In the hope that the Government's opposition would soon cease he imparted to them all the necessary faculties for the offices of preaching and confessing, under direction of his Vicar-General. He considered he was justified in interpreting the intention of the Holy See in a lenient fashion until it came to his knowledge that in spite of the special local difficulties the Pope insisted on his prohibition being carried out to the letter—which he did not think likely. As for the schools, there was nothing further to be said, for the Pope had stated clearly enough that they were not to be left without teachers.¹

A similarly reassuring reply was sent by the nuncio, through Bishop Hilzen of Smolensk, to the Jesuit Wierbicki of Grodno. The Brief was common knowledge and consequently binding in conscience, but as a positive law did not oblige one to attempt the impossible, its execution might be delayed as long as the situation demanded it and there were no other means of subsistence. For necessity knew no law, and the Church was a loving mother. But there must always be the firm resolve to comply with the Brief as soon as the emergency had passed; in fact, they must work with energy for its removal and avoid everything that might be regarded as approval of its non-execution. Further, he advised them gradually to assimilate their dress to that of the secular clergy.²

The same spirit of compliance as the Rector of Dünaburg's had already been shown in October 1773 by the professor of canon law there, Szadurski, in a letter to the nuncio.³ Later

¹ *Garampi to Giedroyc, for the Rector Kononowicz, December 27, 1773, *ibid.*, 290. Similarly, *Garampi to Kononowicz, January 3, 1774, *ibid.*, 81. Cf. *Garampi to Macedonio, January 12, 1774, *ibid.*, 58.

² “*Minuta secondo la quale Mgr. Hilzen ha risposto al P. Vierbicki S.J.,” September 1774, *ibid.*, 119.

³ *Garampi to Macedonio, November 3, 1773, *ibid.*, 53.

he wrote that when the Rector of Polotsk had been summoned to St. Petersburg he had implored him to obtain permission from the empress to submit to the Brief of suppression. He had continually brought this obligation to the attention of his brethren but he could not deny that it would go hard with them to be released in that country as there was a grievous lack of suitable replacements for the teachers in the Gymnasia and the theological faculty. Perhaps Rome might be asked to take a lenient view of the question, for the dangers that now threatened the faith baffled the imagination. There was even a rumour that schismatic professors would be called from Kiev and St. Petersburg.¹ In the summer of 1774 Szadurski left Livonia and the Society. In Warsaw he assured Garampi that the Jesuits in Dünaburg were sorely troubled in their conscience, being sincerely desirous of obeying the Papal ordinances. If they had any hope of gaining their livelihood elsewhere they would leave secretly, as he had done. Twice the Rector of Polotsk had earnestly besought the Court to allow the Brief to take its course but it was of no use.²

Although the nuncio, for fear of offending the two non-Catholic powers, advised against the taking of compulsory measures against the Jesuits by the ecclesiastical authorities, he also followed very faithfully, as is borne out by the foregoing and ensuing statements, the advice given him by Macedonio, to represent to the Jesuits of Prussia and Russia, through third parties, that they were burdening themselves with the guilt of insubordination and were

¹ *Szadurski to Garampi, December 13, 1773, *ibid.*, 119; *Garampi to Macedonio, January 12, 1774, *ibid.*, 58.

² " *L'Exgesuita Szadurski venuto di Livonia mi assicura, che ivi quei Gesuiti sono angustiatissimi, desiderando sinceramente di poter eseguire la disposizione del Papa ; e se avessero modo di sostenersi altrove, scomparerebbero, come ha fatto egli. Dice che il P. Rettore di Polosco ha due volte fatte efficaci rappresentanze alla Corte per essere lasciato in libertà. Che ultimamente è venuto ordine che si ammettano e vestano Novizi." Diario Garampi, July 21, 1774, p. 719 *seq.* ; *Fondo Garampi, 78, Papal Secret Archives.

rendering themselves liable to excommunication if they did not willingly obey the Pope, that is to say if they did not renounce their Society's dress and communal life of their own accord.¹ Neither prelate seems to have weighed sufficiently the practical possibility of such an action nor the effects it would have had on the practice of religion. In time the nuncio might have arrived at a more just appreciation of the situation had not the Greek Uniat Archbishop Smogorzewski of Polotsk, a determined opponent of the Society,² continually thrown suspicion on the Jesuits in his secret reports. He alleged that the only object of their declarations and petitions was to mislead the public, and there was reason for supposing that they themselves had secretly instigated the Government's decrees and prohibitions.³ On December 27th, 1773, Garampi had stated to Bishop Siestrzencewicz that even though the publication of the Brief had not been permitted by the Courts of Berlin and St. Petersburg, the Jesuits were bound in conscience to obey the Brief, as a law that was common knowledge was obligatory without its promulgation. Admittedly the empress would not withdraw her ordinances of her own accord but she might well do so when asked by those in whose favour they had been issued. It was the Jesuits'

¹ *Macedonio to Garampi, December 4, 1773, *Nunziat. di Polonia*, 118, *loc. cit.* ; *Garampi to Siestrzencewicz, December 27, 1773, *ibid.*, 80 ; *Garampi to Smogorzewski, November 29, 1773, *ibid.*

² *Smogorzewski to Clement XIV., December 14, 1773, *ibid.*, 141.

³ *Smogorzewski to Garampi, October 5, 12, 19, 1773, *ibid.*, 141 ; *Garampi to Smogorzewski, November 29, 1773, *ibid.*, 80 ; *Garampi to Macedonio, January 12, 1774, *ibid.*, 58 ; *Corsini to Garampi, March 16, 1774, *ibid.*, 118. On Garampi's advice the Archbishop prevailed on the young scholastic Spiridowicz, who wanted to leave the Society, to stay on for a time in the college at Polotsk so as to provide the prelate with some secret information about what took place in the house and in the Vice-Province. *Garampi to Macedonio, April 6, 1774, *ibid.*, 58 ; *Smogorzewski to Garampi, May 15, 1774, *ibid.*, 141.

duty to obtain the empress's permission to publish the Brief, and in this undertaking the Bishop would do well to support them in word and deed. Under the immediate direction of the Ordinaries they could continue their ministry and teaching in the manner of the Oratorians.¹

It was not long before the nuncio, who had supposed that Siestrzencewicz was a man of honour and good intentions, discovered that he had been only too ready to meet the wishes of the Court.² In reply to his remonstrances the Bishop defended his conduct by pleading the pressure to which he was subjected by the Government, which, had it been opposed, would, he feared, have taken forcible measures against the Catholics. He went so far as to offer to retire,³ with the result that the nuncio, who knew only too well the inflexibility of the Court of St. Petersburg, sympathized with him and suppressed the impulse to vent his anger on the prelate. He was also aware that Siestrzencewicz enjoyed the favour of the Court to a high degree and that consequently on him more than anyone depended the fate of the Catholics in the Russian empire.⁴ From Archbishop Smogorzewski the nuncio learned that Siestrzencewicz had pledged himself in writing to maintain the Jesuits in their previous condition and to obtain Rome's consent to this.⁵ It was only on the strength of this that the Rector of Polotsk had undertaken to carry on the schools. When the Bishop realized the serious difficulties that stood in the way of his project he tried to induce the Jesuits to renounce their religious state without his knowledge. To their statement that they were ready to do this at his command he replied that he could give them no such order as his hands were tied. When he contended that in spite of the non-publication of the

¹ *Nunziat. di Polonia, 88, *loc. cit.*

² *Garampi to Macedonio, February 9 and March 6, 1774, *ibid.*, 58; *Garampi to Smogorzewski, February 28, 1774, *ibid.*, 81.

³ *Siestrzencewicz to Garampi, February 15, 1774, *ibid.*, 136.

⁴ *Garampi to Macedonio, March 9 and April 6, 1774, *ibid.*, 58.

⁵ *Smogorzewski to Garampi, May 15 and June 24, 1774, *ibid.*, 141 and 119.

Brief it was the duty of the Jesuits to submit to its regulations, they retorted that they had not hindered its publication and that they would never have thought of retaining their religious dress had not the Bishop undertaken to maintain them in their present state. The Court would have been more co-operative towards them if the Bishop had not asserted that he would intercede for them with the Holy See. When he asked what they would do after the period of grace laid down in the Brief had expired and no dispensation had been granted by the Pope, he was told that they would then assume secular dress and each fend for himself, as the obligation to carry on the schools rested on the supposition that they would be allowed to continue their life in religion. To the further question whether, after laying aside their dress, they wished to remain in his diocese, they could give him no definite assurance as they knew that many of the younger members preferred to live as simple secular priests in Poland than as prelates in Russia.¹

¹ “ *Il Vescovo si obligò *in scriptis* alla Corte per sostenere li gesuiti secondo l’anteriore loro stato, e il Rettore poi su fondamento di tal condizione promise al Ministero di somministrare tali soggetti; ma siccome pare potersi incontrare non poca difficoltà per una sì strana condizione, onde il Vescovo persuade, che abbandonino li nostri l’Istituto *inscio ipso*. Rispondono li nostri volerlo abbandonare subito, purchè ciò sia loro comandato dal Vescovo; questi poi asserisce di non poterlo fare, ed aver le mani legate. — Procurò il Vescovo dimostrarci, che quantunque la Bolla non sia in queste parti giuridicamente pubblicata, nulladimeno ci obbliga in foro interno; mentre non s’ignora da veruno dei nostri esser pubblicata essa in altri Dominii, e vedersi dappertutto travestiti i nostri consocii della stessa Provincia. A ciò risposero i nostri non aver nulla procurato, nè mai esser stati intenzionati di perseverare nell’abito antico, se non allora, quando il Vescovo s’impegnò a volerli sostenere, anzi la Corte stessa sarebbe in ciò per noi più facile, qualora il vescovo non l’avesse assicurata del proprio operato presso l’Apostolica Sede su tal particolare . . .” March 18, 1774; translation in Nunziat. di Polonia, 119, *loc. cit.* The document bears a note in the nuncio’s hand, “Polocen. Mohilovien.” All the evidence seems to show

Although Garampi tried every possible way of inducing Siestrzencewicz to execute the Brief, sometimes using gentle terms, sometimes strong ones, and even offered to allow the Jesuits to continue their life in community if only they would put on secular dress,¹ he always shrank from adopting abrupt measures. Cardinal Corsini advised him to represent to the Jesuits that their administration of the sacraments was illicit and invalid, that obedience to the Church should be considered before the prohibition of the Government, and that they should give up their colleges and their country rather than persist in their present situation,² but this advice the nuncio rejected as dangerous and little likely to succeed. The better plan, he thought, would be to persuade the Russian Govern-

that these pieces of information were conveyed by the scholastic Spiridowicz to Smogorzewski, who passed them on to the Warsaw nunciature.

¹ "Vengo di ricevere dal N. Sigre una speciale facoltà, che in nome di Msgr. Vescovo di Vilna gli avevo già chiesta, di poter cioè abilitare alla divina parola e alle confessioni *quoad extraneos* gl'individui della estinta Società, che in abito di preti secolari continuano a vivere nelle case della soppressa Compagnia della diocesi di Vilna e dei quali mi consta la sincera ubbidienza alle disposizioni Pontificie. Mi son molto rallegrato nel poter dare questa spirituale consolazione ai detti Religiosi, che tanto la desideravano, e così supplire insieme ai bisogni spirituali dei popoli." The Jesuits of White Russia could enjoy the same privilege, "se assumeranno lo stato di preti secolari e si conformeranno alle disposizioni pontificie." Garampi to Siestrzencewicz, April 18, 1774, Nunziat. di Polonia, 81, *loc. cit.* "La plume à la main qui venait à peine de mettre la date à la Bulle et était encore mouillée, le Pape Clément XIV. accepta les représentations que l'évêque fidèle dans l'accomplissement de son devoir fit par le nonce, et Sa Sainteté capitula, pour ainsi dire, avec lui. Elle permit que l'évêque se servit des individus des Jésuites, pourvu qu'ils ne fassent [!] nulle part et aucune mention de leurs communautés." GODLEWSKI, *Monumenta eccl. Petropolitana*, I., 39.

² Corsini to Garampi, March 16, 1774, Nunziat. di Polonia, 118, *loc. cit.* THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 500 *seq.*

ment to be more accommodating, so that it would pay more consideration to Catholic principles, though experience told him that this would be very difficult.¹ Shortly after this he was able to report to Propaganda that Siestrzencewicz was trying to make good his tractability, which had been due partly to his over-eagerness to please, partly to compulsion.² He had hinted obscurely at his intention to execute the Brief by bringing about the gradual extinction of the Jesuits. They had no noviciate, he would not consecrate their scholastics, he had induced twelve of them already to leave the Society, and others would follow. The difficulty was that the Jesuits were working in the parishes. He could hardly reconcile his conscience to leaving them without pastors. On the other hand, to authorize them to undertake the cure of souls was as good as recognizing their continued existence. In the long run it would be better for him to return to Vilna than to hold out in that predicament.³ On hearing this Corsini advised

¹ Garampi *assured Corsini that in the past he had done all he could to bring about the suppression in Russia, and in the future, too, he would keep on bringing the will of the Congregation for Suppression to the knowledge of the Bishop. "Opus sane videtur plenum aleae et periculi. Namque adhibenda diligens opera est, ut molliter ac suaviter retrahatur episcopus Malensis ex immodicis concessionibus, quibus incaute et inconsiderate subscripsit." Wherefore he had not yet said anything to him about the jurisdiction over all the Catholics in Russia. "Oportet etiam, ut ad faciliora consilia, et catholicis nostris principiis accommodatoria Aula Russiaca reducatur, quod difficillimum fore animadverto." Garampi to Corsini, April 13, 1774, *Nunziat. di Polonia*, 58, *loc. cit.*

² Garampi to Castelli, May 21, 1774, *ibid.*, 75; THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 502.

³ " *Jc viens à mes brebis galeuses. L'abbé Cerniewicz en a congédié de mon avis plus de douze du Collège de Polock. Il s'y est prêté par ménage. Moi j'en ai eu bien d'autres vues. J'en ai démasqué nouvellement un moi-même, et je l'ai habillé. J'ai donné une dispensation des bannes à un autre. Mais on m'y a fait faire halte. Si l'on est fin d'un côté, on est clairvoyant de l'autre. Ils peuvent bien mourir sur la plante avec le tems. Ils n'ont point

Garampi to keep on urging the Bishop to publish the Brief. For the sake of the validity of the sacraments and the ministering to the faithful the Pope allowed Siestrzencewicz to grant the Jesuits the necessary faculties for parochial work.¹

With the election of Pius VI. on February 15th, 1775, the Jesuits had reason to hope for better times,² as Pius was

de novitiat. Je n'en ordonnerai aucun, dusse-je n'ordonner personne pendant bien de tems. Mais c'est le temps présent qui m'embarasse. Ils ont quelque part la charge d'âmes. Y être passif par rapport à leurs fonctions spirituelles, c'est abandonner les paroissiens. Les autoriser à desservir les ouailles, c'est autoriser leur existence. On me demande, si je suis bien avancé dans l'arrangement de leurs écoles conformément à l'ordre du 18 Janvier, et je ne l'ai pas encore commencé . . . Vous sentez bien, Monseigneur, qu'à la longue il me sera plus facile de repasser à Vilna que de temporiser." Siestrzencewicz to Garampi, April 18, 1774, Nunziat. di Polonia, 136, *loc. cit.*; cf. April 4, *ibid.*; THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 501 *seq.*; LORET, 257 *seq.*

¹ " *De parochis vero, qui sunt in illis regionibus ex individuis suppressae Societatis ut validitati Sacramentorum et fidelium saluti consulatur, clementissime indulget SS. D. N., ut illis necessarias facultates dictus episcopus concedere valeat, sed eum moneat Ampl. Tua, ut singulos ad breve tempus approbet, et crebris prorogationibus suppleat diuturnitatem concessionis." Corsini to Garampi, June 22, 1774, Nunziat. di Polonia, 118, *loc. cit.*; THEINER, *Hist.*, II., 503 *seq.* The much-discussed question whether Clement XIV. approved the continued existence of the Jesuits by means of a special Brief can only be answered in the negative after DUHR's thorough investigation (*Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, LXXXVII. [1913-14], 458-469). Further evidence, however, may result from another investigation.

² *TERMANINI, 150; *Gazeta Warszawska* of December 27, 1775; " *Memorie del Conte Marco Fantuzzi " (Parte III., Della Compagnia di Gesù e sua abolizione): " Ma tornando a Pio VI. ne' primi tempi, li Gesuiti sperarono tutto da lui, e di fatti finirono le persecuzioni personali, e si sospesero tutti gli atti incominciati da Clemente XIV. Fece anche liberare li detenuti, ma non così subito. Aveva promessa la liberazione del Generale, ma andò tanto differendo, che se ne morì in Castello." (MS. with unnumbered pages belonging to the Countess Torricelli.) Popular feeling

indebted in many ways to them and their well-wishers in the College of Cardinals. But there was no question of his restoring the Society. Apart from his having determined his position by the statement he had made to the Crown Cardinals in the conclave, that he would not disturb the rulings made in this connexion by his predecessor,¹ the opposition of the Bourbon Courts was too strong and the confusion that would have been caused in the Church by the restoration would have been

supported the Jesuits. In the State Library in St. Petersburg (Mss. Ital. Lit. Q.) there is a collection of satires which were published in Rome during the conclave that elected Pius VI. It cannot be mere chance that only two of the eighty-seven pieces take the side of the Bourbons, whereas quite a number defend the Society and violently attack its suppression or at least the manner of its execution.

¹ *Cardinal Braschi's secret visit to Cardinal Solis on the previous night. "Después de los cumplimientos, el mismo [Braschi] ha tomado la palabra, y después de repetirme lo que ya se le avía oído en punto de Jesuitas, que ni aun pidiéndolo todos los Borbónicos, debían en su dictamen resuscitarse; me ha hablado con un respecto tal de las máximas de su criador, relativamente a los principes, que debe creerse le imitará en ellas." Solis to Moñino, February 12, 1775, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. "Conclave" 1774-5. " *Le principal, qui sont le maximes, ne souffrit aucune difficulté . . . La Bulle *In Coena* ne sera pas publiée. On n'innovera rien sur les Jésuites, et tout ce qui se fera à cet égard, se fera de concert avec nous. Nous serons consultés sur toutes choses . . ." Bernis to Moñino, February 13 [1775], fragment, *ibid.* " P. S. Quando iba a firmar esta, llegó la noticia de la elección del Cardenal Braschi para al Sumo Pontificado. Corrí al instante al quarto del Rey, que ya se iba a acostar, y habiéndole leído la carta de V. E., queda sumamente contento y satisfecho de todo lo que en ella se refiere, y particularmente de las promesas del nuevo Papa sobre no innovar en asuntos de Jesuitas, que es el punto principalísimo en las actuales circunstancias." Grimaldi to Solis, February 28, 1775, *ibid.*; PACHECO Y DE LEYVA, *El conclave de 1774 a 1775*, Madrid, 1915, 470 seqq. Cf. MARCH, *Pourquoi Pie VI. n'a-t-il pas voulu rétablir les Jésuites*, in *Rev. des quest. hist.*, CII. (1925), 364 seqq.

incalculable. However, the little alleviations which Pius had granted to the prisoners in the Castel S. Angelo, the few marks of affection and justice he had shown them, had already aroused far-reaching hopes among the supporters and former members of the Society. And now the rumour was spreading in Rome and thence over almost the whole of Europe that the restoration of the Society was to be expected in the near future.¹

Among the Jesuits of White Russia too the hope arose that now a brighter future was about to open for them.² When the first excitement had died down Czerniewicz addressed a petition to Pius VI. on October 15th, 1775. As the Brief of suppression had not been officially announced in Russia, he wrote, the Jesuits there had held themselves to be bound in conscience to continue the observance of their vows and to retain their name, their dress, and their Society's constitution. But several of them, mostly younger members, uneasy in their conscience, had laid aside their dress and had left the community. Would the Pope in the goodness of his heart, which was known to all, be so gracious as to give them some sign from which they might presume that their conduct did not displease him? In making this appeal he had no other motive than God's honour, the good of the Church, and the freeing of the younger members from their misgivings. In the absence of a noviciate might permission be given to employ ex-Jesuits from other countries in the works of the Society and enrol them in its ranks? ³ Cardinal Rezzonico, who had presented

¹ Cf. *Bernis to Vergennes, May 31, 1775, Papal Secret Archives, *loc. cit.*

² *Garampi to Carafa, November 30, 1774, Nunziat. di Polonia, 59, *loc. cit.*

³ "Sinat igitur Sanctitas Sua, . . . ut ad eximendum reliquis, qui nobiscum sunt iuvenibus scrupulum, haberi a nobis possit indicium aliquod, ex quo intelligatur, saltem non displicere Sanctitati Suae, quod nostri in his regionibus . . . pristinum Societatis Iesu statum retineant." In Jesuit possession, Russia, I., fasc. IV.; printed in *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Sum. add. 107-112.

the petition,¹ replied on January 13th, 1776, "*Precum tuarum exitus, ut auguro, et exoptas, felix*"² ("The result of your prayers is, as I foresee and you desire, a happy one"). These few and enigmatic words were interpreted by some as a kind of approval, by others as merely good wishes for the future. In the covering letter to Benvenuti, who after his flight from Rome was staying with Prince Czartoryski in Warsaw and was acting as go-between, Felici, the Cardinal's Uditore, remarked that the Pope had accepted the letter in a friendly spirit but for obvious reasons the petitioner could hardly hope for any other reply than the rather non-committal ("*ben sterile*") one which was now enclosed. The course taken by the new pontificate did not come up to the hopes that had been had of it. Outwardly much had changed and one could breathe freely again. At heart the Pope had the best intentions, but the methods employed were just the same as ever, and these unfortunately were all too human. It could only be hoped that experience together with devotion would bring about a change.³ Though the Cardinal's reply, taken in

Cf. GAGARIN, 47 *seqq.*; [BOERO], *Osservazioni*, II², 162 *seq.*; ZALENSKI-VIVIER, I., 300 *seqq.*; RAVIGNAN, *Clément XIII.*, II., 458 *seq.*

¹ *Czerniewicz to Giovan Battista Rezzonico, October 15, 1775, in Jesuit possession, Russia, I., fasc. IV.; in *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Sum. add. 112 *seq.*

² "Libellum tuum pro munere meo SS. D. N. Pontifici Pio VI. ostendi et perlegi. Precum tuarum exitus, ut auguro, et exoptas, felix." In Jesuit possession, Russia, I., fasc. IV.; *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Sum. add. p. 114; *Razón y Fe*, XXXIX. (1914), 217; [BOERO], *Osservazioni*, II², 163.

³ "Non incontrò Sua Eminenza alcuna difficoltà di presentarlo, come ha fatto, a N. S., essendo che era concepito molto bene, e con proprietà; ed io so, che fu accolto con somma clemenza. Ciò non ostante, il supplicante non potrà sperare di avere altro rincontro, che quello ben sterile, che riceverà dalla qui unita risposta del Signore; ed Ella senza che gliel dica, ne capirà la ragione. Le nuove certamente non sono tali, quali si presagivano dal presente governo. Tuttavia si respira, ed è mutata la faccia delle cose.

conjunction with the Uditore's, could not be interpreted as a positive approval, it contained no condemnation of the Jesuits in Russia. One would perhaps be nearest the truth in describing Pius VI.'s attitude as "turning the blind eye".

Forced to the conclusion that all attempts to alter the determined will of the empress were useless, the Rector Czerniewicz decided to take the course indicated by the situation and to draw from the non-publication of the Brief of suppression the inferences to which he was entitled by the principles of canon law. He had promised Count Czerniszew to keep the Catholic higher schools in a flourishing condition and to supply them with suitable teachers. To do this, however, he had first to organize the remnant of the Masovian Province of the Society in White Russia. In his first negotiations with Siestrzencewicz he had pointed out that if discipline was to be preserved someone must be in supreme control, that as before there must be a Provincial to direct the local Superiors and to see to the suitable occupation of the various posts. But this idea met with opposition from the Bishop. Siestrzencewicz would only go so far as to authorize Czerniewicz to represent him for three months, which meant that he appointed him Provincial in fact if not in name.¹ On the expiry of this period he wanted to dissolve the connexion between the colleges and he forbade the Rector to continue the conduct of affairs,² whereupon the latter appealed with his arguments to the Governor Kretchetnikow. To carry on

Il fondo, e l'intenzione sono ottime, ma le vie sono le stesse di prima, cioè troppo umane, le quali quante volte sono state battute, altrettanto sono riuscite o inutili, o perniciose. *Intelligenti pauca*. Ma la speranza unita alla propria virtù e divozione, suggerirà un giorno o l'altro, per quanto è da sperarsi, migliori consigli." In Jesuit possession, Russia, I., fasc. IV.; printed in *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Sum. add. 115; *Razón y Fe*, loc. cit.; SAS, *W sprawie Jezuitow na Bialej Russi*, in *Przegląd Powszechny*, CX. (1911), 371 seq.

¹ Cf. above, p. 216.

² *Smogorzewski to Garampi, August 3, 1774, Nunziat. di Polonia, 141, loc. cit.

the schools, he said, it was absolutely essential to ensure the supply of new blood by means of a noviciate, to promote the scholastics to the priesthood, and to appoint a Provincial Superior who would see to a fruitful co-operation, which was endangered when the various Rectors acted independently of each other.¹ At first Siestrzencewicz tried to evade these requests,² but when the Governor General apprised him orally and in writing of the empress's desire, that Czerniewicz be appointed Provincial,³ he complied by prolonging, on December 1st-12th, 1774, his plenipotentiary powers for the period of the current school-year.⁴ In the summer of 1775, after further pressure,⁵ the Bishop ordained some of the Jesuit scholastics, though not under the title of poverty but of a definite parish church. When he also interfered in the filling of offices ⁶ Czerniewicz complained to Count Czerniszew,⁷

¹ *Undated memorandum [September-October 1774], in Jesuit possession, Russia, III., fasc. VIII.

² *Siestrzencewicz to Garampi, October 30, 1774, *Nunziat. di Polonia*, 136, *loc. cit.*; LORET, 258 *seqq.*; **id.* to *id.*, February 1/12, 1775, *loc. cit.*; *Garampi to Carafa, December 21, 1774, *ibid.*, 59.

³ *Czerniszew to Siestrzencewicz, November 19/30, 1774, translation in Jesuit possession, Russia, I., fasc. V. The letter from the Governor-General is contained in its entirety in the episcopal decree. See the following note.

⁴ After citing the text of the letter the Bishop continued: " *Maior Ecclesiae utilitas postulat gratiam Generalis Albae Russiae Praefecti non demereri. Nihil ergo nobis superest quam praesentatum hoc modo R. Rectorem Czerniewicz acceptare, et in qualitate Provincialis eum declarare, prout declaramus. Praesentibus ad decursum anni scholastici id est ad festum Sancti Ignatii Loyolae anni futuri valituris. Mandatum Episcopi Mallensis," December 1/12, 1774, *Nunziat. di Polonia*, 119, *loc. cit.*; *Smogorzewski to Garampi, December 3, 1774, *ibid.*, 141 (information from the scholastic Spiridowicz); *Garampi to Carafa, December 28, 1774, *ibid.*, 59.

⁵ Siestrzencewicz to Garampi, July 2, 1775, *ibid.*, 136; LORET, 262. ⁶ *Id.* to *id.*, September 18, 1775, *ibid.*; LORET, 262 *seq.*

⁷ On October 31, 1775. The date is ascertainable from the

who on November 7th, 1775, reminded the prelate of the former agreements. It being the firm resolve of the empress to leave the Jesuits in possession of all their former rights and privileges, the Bishop had no right, he wrote, to limit the Provincial's term of office on his own responsibility, still less was he to interfere in the filling of offices. The ordination of the scholastics in the manner of secular priests and without the knowledge of the Provincial was contrary to the rights of the Society. He hoped that in future the Bishop would obey the empress's orders better and not give the Jesuits any cause for complaint.¹ Angrily, Siestrzencewicz wrote to the nuncio at Warsaw that Czerniewicz was ruling the remnant of the Society like a Superior General or, rather, a despot.²

Before this letter had reached him Garampi had forwarded to the Bishop some instructions how to deal with those Jesuits who under pressure from their Governments had been forced to retain their dress and communal life. On principle, these instructions ran, the Pope regards the Society of Jesus as dissolved and abolished. Its vows, privileges, and faculties no longer existed. Since, according to the regulations in the Brief, those members who retained their dress and communal life were incompetent to perform their ecclesiastical functions and were irregular, the Holy See, to assuage the conscience of the Bishops and the faithful, allowed the Ordinaries to approve of individual members exercising their ecclesiastical functions as long as they were under pressure. But this facility was to be granted to them only as individuals, not as members of a Congregation, wherefore they were subject to the same laws as secular priests.³ The Cardinals of the Congregation for the

Count's reply to the Provincial of . . . November 1775. Translation in *Nunziat. di Polonia*, 141, *loc. cit.*

¹ Czerniszew to Siestrzencewicz, November 7, 1775, translation, *ibid.*, 141; LORET, 262. This translation differs somewhat from the Russian text cited by MOROCHKIN (I., 123).

² *January 28, 1776, *Nunziat. di Polonia*, 119, *loc. cit.*

³ "Le acchiuse, che le trasmetto, serviranno a tranquillizarle la coscienza nelle ulteriori direzioni da prendere con questi

Suppression had signified their doubts about this and had expressed their desire that this act of favour should be made dependent on the abandonment of the Jesuit dress and a written submission to the Brief,¹ but this proposal was not accepted by the Pope.²

exgesuiti. Quel che ho scritto ai vescovi degli Stati Prussiani, potrà servire di norma e legittima facoltà anche a Lei. La sostanza si è, che il Papa considera la Società come affatto sciolta e annientata. Non più voti, non più privilegi, non più facoltà competenti al Corpo. Ma siccome in vigore del Breve di Clemente XIV. quegli Individui, che seguitano a vivere nei Collegi, e a ritenere l'antico abito (costretti dai rispettivi Sovrani) non possono abbandonare nè questo, nè quegli, e perciò sarebbero inabili all'ecclesiastiche funzioni e irregolari, e con ciò angustiate rimanevano le coscienze e dei vescovi e dei fedeli, perciò durante la detta necessità (cioè fino a tanto, che i Sovrani non si lasceranno piegare alla totale esecuzione del Breve di Clemente XIV.) il Papa permette che gli Ordinari non sieno inabilitati ad approvare all'ecclesiastiche funzioni or l'uno, or l'altro degl'individui suddetti, sempre però come individui, non più componenti un corpo; e che perciò soggiaciano a tutte quelle leggi, alle quali soggiacciono tutti gli altri preti secolari non legati a Istituto o Corpo veruno." Garampi to Siestrzencewicz, January 8, 1776, Nunziat. di Polonia, 83, *loc. cit.* The draft of this rescript seems to have been made by Bernis. Cf. "Piano di Lettera dal Card. de Bernis" [November–December 1775]; *ibid.*, Regolari, Gesuiti, 16.

¹ Cf. *Corsini to Garampi, September 17, 1774, Nunziat. di Polonia, 118, *ibid.*

² " *Memoria per Sua Santità " [November–December 1775], *ibid.* In their memorial the Cardinals accused the Jesuits of obstinate disobedience in trying to prevent the execution of the Brief on the pretext ("sotto il mentito colore") that their abandonment of the schools and the parishes would cause great harm to the Church in those States. This accusation showed that the Cardinals had little knowledge of the religious situation in the north. On November 10, 1774, Canon Folkmann, the parish priest at Mitau, *wrote to Garampi: "The Jesuit school at Mitau having been suppressed, some of the Catholics are already sending

In the summer of 1776 Siestrzencewicz was in trouble again. "The Rector of the principal college," he complained to the nuncio, "who has taken on himself the dignity of a General of religious, is controlling the remnants of the Society without any reference to me, even in respect of faculties for hearing confessions. In spite of this independence, however, this supposed Superior worries me incessantly to ordain his scholastics under the title of poverty. Deaf to my excuses and exhortations, he takes his complaints to the Crown. I will regulate my conduct by your decision."¹

By the time this letter reached Warsaw Garampi was no longer there. His place had been taken by Giovanni Andrea Archetti,² Archbishop of Corinth, who, in accordance with his instructions, immediately adopted a severer tone. Siestrzencewicz waited till November 16th, then administered the solemn vows to twenty Jesuit clerics. To avoid giving them his direct recognition as religious he ordained them under the newly invented title of the "Imperial Provision".³ There were still

their sons to Protestant schools. Some are execrating the Polish Bishops, others come to me for help, with tears in their eyes. For the moment I am paying the lay teachers, but I cannot continue indefinitely to defray these expenses. Owing to the lack of missionaries Easter confessions [presumably of the peasants in outlying districts] had to be abandoned this year. The Jesuits' residence and their revenues were confiscated by the Protestant Duke of Courland." *Nunziat. di Polonia*, 39.

¹ August 5, 1776, *ibid.*, 318; LORET, 264.

² Cf. GABRIELE ROSA, *Notizie del Cardinale Andrea Archetti, Nunzio in Polonia*, in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 3. ser., t. I., P. I. (Florence, 1865), pp. 63-89.

³ *ROZAVEN, 12 *seq.* This circumstantial account shows that the Bishop's letters to the nuncio should be regarded with a critical eye. After several years' experience Garampi had formed a very poor opinion of the Bishop's canonistic knowledge. *Garampi to Pallavicini, September 13, 1779, *Nunziat. di Germania*, 397, Papal Secret Archives. " *Ha egli del talento e dello spirito ed è forse sufficientemente istruito, ma non già nelle materie ecclesiastiche, di cui è quasi affatto digiuno ";

two candidates for ordination when on November 17th he received the reply from the new nuncio which had been sent off from Warsaw on August 28th, 1776, and had taken nearly three months to reach Mohilev. Numerous finger-prints and the way in which it had been sealed showed only too clearly that it had been intercepted and examined.¹ Its contents were as remarkable as its exterior. Archetti congratulated the Bishop on his firmness and encouraged him to have no scruples in refusing ordination. Until the recalcitrants had submitted to the Brief of suppression they were not competent to hold an ecclesiastical office or to administer the sacraments.² Intimidated by this letter, Siestrzencewicz broke off the ordinations but did not dare to exclude the Jesuits from pastoral work. Many of their churches were used as parish churches. Could he take the responsibility of leaving thousands of the faithful without shepherds? was the question he put to Archetti in his reply. Was he to go back on his agreements and thereby draw down on himself and his whole flock the imperial displeasure? He was in the desperate position of being forced to embroil himself with either the ecclesiastical or the civil power. He had long been thinking of secretly departing and of leaving his seventy parishes to the mercy of God and his representative. It was only the thought of the poor flock and the ravenous wolves that would come after him that had held him back.³ Archetti, startled by the effect of his letter, turned to Pallavicini for instructions.⁴ Archetti's report gave rise to grave anxiety in Rome. Was it certain that the ordinations in Mohilev were illicit? Before dispatching his reply the Cardinal Secretary

"*Relation finale d'Arezzo"; ROUËT DE JOURNEL, *Nonciature d'Arezzo*, II., Rome, 1927, 433.

¹ Siestrzencewicz to Archetti, November 18, 1776, Nunziat. di Polonia, 323, *loc. cit.*: LORET, 265 *seq.*

² Archetti to Siestrzencewicz, August 28, 1776, Nunziat. di Polonia, 83.

³ Siestrzencewicz to Archetti, November 18, 1776, Nunziat. di Polonia, 323; LORET, 265 *seq.*

⁴ Archetti to Pallavicini, January 1 and February 19, 1777, Cifre, Nunziat. di Polonia, 319; LORET, 266 *seq.*

of State submitted it to the expert opinion of Michel Angelo Monsagrati, the most highly reputed canonist in Rome. His verdict was: "The Brief suppressing the Society is not one of those that acquire obligatory force by their publication in Rome alone." It was the clear intention of the Brief and it was expressly ruled in the note that accompanied it, that it was to be officially announced in every one of the Society's houses. As it had not been published in the Czarina's dominions, the Jesuits living there could not be called refractory in the proper sense of the word and consequently could not be excluded from ordination so long as it was not proved juridically that they themselves had instigated the opposition of the Court. Further, their Institute had been approved by all former Popes, and Clement had not suppressed them because their Institute was bad but for quite different reasons.¹ In his final reply Pallavicini tried to do justice both

¹ " *La minuta di risposta, che l'Eminenza Vostra si è degnata di comunicarmi, a me sembra, che vada ottimamente. Il Breve di soppressione della Compagnia non è di quei Brevi, che *afficiunt* colla sola pubblicazione fatta in Roma. Avendolo riletto non vi ho trovata questa clausola. Anzi alla pag. xv di detto Breve Clemente XIV. dice così: 'Vetamus, ne postquam praesentes Nostrae literae promulgatae fuerint, ac notae redditae ullus audeat earum executionem suspendere' etc. . . . Di più nella lettera del 18 agosto 1773, che la Congregazione Deputata, d'ordine del Papa, scrisse a tutti i Vescovi nell'inviarle [sic] il Breve di soppressione, leggonsi queste parole: 'praesentes literas ad Amplitudinem Tuam dandas esse (il Papa) praecepit ad hoc, ut Amplitudo Tua in singulis domibus, seu Collegiis, et ubicumque in tua Dioecesi reperiuntur dictae suppressae Societatis Iesu individui, illis in unum congregatis in qualibet domo easdem Literas Apostolicas suppressionis rite denunciet, publicet et intimet.' Sicchè ne' Dominj della Czarina non essendosi pubblicato il Breve, i gesuiti ivi esistenti non si possono a tutto rigore chiamar pubblici Refrattarj, e in conseguenza tali da non potersi per gravissima pubblica causa come nel caso presente ammettersi all'ordinazione. — Comprendo benissimo, che dai loro maneggi proverrà l'opposizione che fa la Corte alla pubblicazione suddetta. Ma per l'effetto di repellerli dall'ordinazione, converrebbe, che ciò

to the clear principles of canon law and the prudent considerations of diplomacy, which counselled him to satisfy the giuridicamente costasse al Vescovo; e questo ben vede V. E. quanto sia difficile a provarsi. E questo quando si provasse dei Capi, non si proverà poi di quelli che si presentano per ordinarsi. — Oltre di che, quando anche tutto il fin qui detto non reggesse, sarà sempre minor male, nelli Stati della Czarina si ammettano a' Sagri Ordini de' nuovi gesuiti, e in conseguenza non se eseguisca il Breve di Clemente XIV., di quel che per mancanza di Ministri si vada a perder o diminuire la Religion Cattolica, come avverrebbe nel caso. Al qual proposito è necessario aver presente, che Clemente XIV. non ha soppressa la Compagnia, perchè l'Istituto fosse cattivo, perverso, scelerato; ma per altri motivi ben diversi; e che, trattandosi dell' abolimento di un Istituto riconosciuto per buono da tutti i Papi, che sono stati avanti Clemente XIV., non è questo cosa da eseguirsi in un istante, ma suscettibile di dilazione, e da eseguirsi a poco, a poco, e a bell' agio ne' luoghi specialmente ove per parte de' Sovrani s' incontrano dell' opposizioni. E mi ricordo aver letto che avendo S. Pio V. soppresso l' Ordine degli Umiliati, durar[o]no ciò nonostante per molto tempo due Conventi di detto Ordine in Toscana, anche dopo S. Pio.

“Solo nella minuta alla facciata quarta, ove dicesi, ‘si rende necessarissimo ed indispensabile, che egli ne' modi più efficaci etc.’ . . . mitigherei un poco questa espressione, tanto più che trattasi di un Vescovo, che dal fatto stesso vedesi fornito di bastante zelo per far eseguire il Breve di Clemente XIV., e direi: ‘non tralasci all' opportunità, e ne' modi che stimerà più adatti, di procurare la resipiscenza etc.’ . . . Così se si potesse ottenere che ne' registri della sua Cancelleria, ove probabilmente si noterà il titolo per cui questi tali gesuiti vengono ordinati, non si mentovasse detto titolo, io lo suggerirei. E parimente suggerirei, conforme l' avvertì ancor V. E. di non farsi da Monsignor Nunzio, nella risposta, che darà al Vescovo, menzione d' ordine, o oracolo della Santità di Nostro Signore, e questo per togliere ai maligni l'occasione di malignare, per qualunque evento accada. Che è quanto ho creduto dover avvertire, rimettendo il tutto al savisimo discernimento dell' Eminenza Vostra a cui col più profondo rispetto bacio la Sacra Porpora, rassegnandomi . . .” Monsagrati to Pallavicini, February 11, 1777. Nunziat. di Polonia, 242, autograph, *loc. cit.*; printed in *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Summ. add. 119-121.

Bourbon ambassadors without offending the despotic Czarina. The flight of the Bishop and the desertion of so many parishes would be a worse evil, he wrote, than the toleration of a few deluded visionaries. Wherefore the nuncio was asked, as if on his own responsibility, to encourage the prelate to lay aside his fears and anxiety about the ordinations that had taken place. In view of the highly critical situation and the great scarcity of priests his past conduct was not disapproved. His future action must be governed by necessity and the apparent benefit to the Catholic population. Nevertheless, he should strive to make the Jesuits understand that they were bound under pain of grievous sin to submit to the Brief, even though it had not been published in Russia. They were to regard themselves not as members of the suppressed Society but only as secular priests, and it was in this capacity that their candidates for ordination were to be entered in the chancery register.¹

¹ " Il S. P. nel leggere la lettera del Vescovo di Mallo trasmessami in copia da V. S. Ill. col dispaccio del primo scaduto è stato sommamente sensibile alla costernazione e angustia di quel Prelato ridotto in così duro frangente o di slontanarsi dal proprio gregge con lasciare di più buon numero di parocchie sprovviste, e ciò per non incorrere l'indignazione della Czara, o d'imporre le mani a chi resiste pertinacemente alle disposizioni della Prima Sede." The absence of the Bishop and the desertion of many parishes was a worse evil than the toleration " di pochi allucinati. Potrà ella dunque, scrivendo, come da sè al ridetto Prelato confortarlo a deporre l'angustia e la sollecitudine per la incominciata e sospesa ordinazione di alcuni individui del soppresso Istituto, giacchè per la estremamente critica di lui situazione, e per la somma penuria di soggetti capaci e idonei alla cura, e governo spirituale di quel Cattolicismo, non se ne disapprova il passato contegno." Similarly for ordinations in the future " si tollererà ancora che ad essa si presti, ma colla misura soltanto della necessità e utilità evidente delle chiese, e della popolazione cattolica." Pallavicini to Archetti, March 22, 1777, Nunziat. di Polonia, 46, *loc. cit.*; *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Summ. add. 121 *seqq.*; LORET, 268 *seq.* *Archetti to Siestrzencewicz, April 28, 1777, Nunziat. di Polonia, 83. Cf. *Pallavicini to Garampi, March 14, 1778, Nunziat. di Vienna, 669, *ibid.*

With this the ordination question was settled to some extent but there was still that of the new entrants into the Society, and this was growing more and more pressing with the passage of time. What with the deaths among the older members and the numerous departures among the younger ones, their ranks had been sadly thinned. No relief was afforded by the addition in August 1774 of the college of Düna-burg, which formerly belonged to the Lithuanian Province.¹ By February 17th, 1777, the number of members had sunk from 201 to 150.² The Rector Czerniewicz had given the Russian authorities good warning that soon the Jesuits would no longer be in a position to fulfil their obligations in respect of the schools unless some provision was made for replacements.³ A noviciate could be set up in one of the existing colleges without any great difficulty and without any new foundation if only the empress would deign to find some way of obtaining permission from Rome.⁴ Czerniszew took up the suggestion all the more readily as both he and the empress were all in favour of keeping the schools in existence.⁵ All he wanted to know, he wrote to Czerniewicz,⁶ was whether a command from the empress was sufficient or whether the ecclesiastical permission was also necessary and, if so, by what means it was to be

¹ *ROZAVEN, 31.

² " *Catalogus Personarum et Officiorum Viceprovinciae Albae Russiae Soc. Iesu " [February 17, 1777], Nunziat. di Polonia, 319, *loc. cit.*

³ *Memorandum from Vice-Provincial Czerniewicz to the Governor Kretschetnikow [September/October 1774], in Jesuit possession, Russia, III., fasc. VIII. ; *Smogorzewski to Garampi, December 3, 1774, Nunziat. di Polonia, 141, *loc. cit.* On July 12, 1774, a supplement of the *Gazeta Warszawska* published the report, presumably from Cologne, that the empress had ordered the building of a wing for the college at Polotsk and preparations for the erection of a noviciate at Düna-burg.

⁴ *Czerniewicz to Czerniszew, September 29/October 10, 1776, Chief State Archives, St. Petersburg, Foreign Office, XII., 178.

⁵ *Czerniszew to Catherine II., October 26, 1776, *ibid.*

⁶ *Czerniszew to Czerniewicz, October 26, 1776, *ibid.* ; Latin translation in Nunziat. di Colonia, 193, Papal Secret Archives.

obtained. Czerniewicz straightway advised him to inform the nuncio in Warsaw, through the ambassador Stackelberg, that the empress hoped that in return for the great goodwill she was showing towards the Catholics in her States Rome would permit the Jesuits in White Russia to establish a noviciate without delay. Unless this indult was obtained from Rome, added Czerniewicz, they, as religious, could make no use of the empress's permission.¹ Through Czerniszew, Catherine instructed the Vice-Provincial to begin the building of the noviciate pending the arrival of a reply to her representation, the success of which, she thought, could hardly be open to doubt.²

The untimely publication in the newspapers³ of Czerniszew's letter to Czerniewicz, of October 26th, 1776,

¹ *Czerniewicz to Czerniszew, November 21, 1776, Chief State Archives, St. Petersburg, Foreign Office, XII., 178.

² *Czerniszew to Catherine II., December 13, 1776, *ibid.* *Catherine II. to Czerniszew, February 16/27, 1777, *ibid.* *Ibid.*, the autograph of the imperial rescript (undated). This is printed in the body of laws entitled "Polnoé Sobranié Zakonov Rossijskoï Imperii", XX., St. Petersburg, 1830, 500, No. 14,582. Cf. PIERLING, V., 94 *seqq.*; MASSON, *Bernis*, 340 *seqq.*

³ *Gazette de Cologne*, January 24, 1777. The editor of this newspaper was the French ex-Jesuit Jeurinvilliers, whom the nuncio Oddi had called to Cologne in 1764. Jeurinvilliers had received the letter from Count Kossakowski, private secretary to the King of Poland. Cf. *Bellisomi to Pallavicini, March 23, 1777, *Nunziat. di Colonia*, 193, *loc. cit.*—THEINER's assault on the ex-Jesuit Feller (*Hist.*, II., 394 *seqq.*) is therefore quite unwarranted. [BOERO], *Osservazioni*, II., 18 *seqq.* It must be admitted, however, that more harm than good was done to the Jesuit cause by the excessive zeal with which the editor and other hotspurs trumpeted abroad, over-hastly and often inaccurately, every piece of news that favoured their late Society. Bellisomi, who admired the courage with which the editor forwarded the interests of the Church, had to confess: "ma ove si tratta di cosa che riguarda la soppressa Società, non sa tacersi, nè riceve consiglio." To Pallavicini, September 23, 1779, *Cifre, Nunziat. di Colonia*, 195, *loc. cit.*

had aroused much suspicion in the Bourbon Courts and in Rome.¹ Pallavicini referred the matter to Archetti, and Archetti to Siestrzencewicz, who proffered the assurance, "The Jesuits are not accepting any novices and are not building a noviciate." Of these two statements only the first was correct. The Bishop then made the enigmatic observation, "What the future will bring is more than I can tell."² The Cardinal Secretary of State assured Bellisomi, the nuncio to Cologne, that Rome was convinced that the letter was a forgery, since up till then Archetti, with whom Stackelberg was to negotiate, according to the letter, had not even hinted at the matter.³ Soon afterwards Pallavicini's repose was again disturbed. On May 21st the nuncio at Warsaw reported that the Polish ex-Jesuits had received information from Russia that the Czarina intended to set up a noviciate. According to the Lower Rhenish Gazette, said the nuncio, Stackelberg was to negotiate with him on the matter. He had therefore invited the Bishop to tell him the whole truth.⁴ On August 20th the nuncio was able to forward the Cardinal Secretary of State a confidential note of July 11th, 1777, containing the laconic information that on the instigation of the Jesuits the Russian Government had written to a Roman Cardinal for the purpose of obtaining from the Pope the authorization to open a noviciate in Düna-burg or Polotsk.⁵ Towards the end of 1777 Siestrzencewicz had undertaken a pastoral visitation

¹ *Pallavicini to Bellisomi, March 1, 1777, Cifre, *ibid.*, 272 ; *Doria to Pallavicini, March 17, 1777, Cired, Nunziat. di Francia 565, *ibid.*

² " *Non illi tyrones sibi adscribunt, non tyrocinium, quod hic loci nullum unquam erat, erigunt, non vota solita, quantum mihi liquet, renovant. Futurorum tamen scientia mihi data non est." Siestrzencewicz to Archetti, February 17, 1777, Nunziat. di Polonia, 319, *ibid.* ; *Palavicini to Archetti, April 12, 1777, *ibid.*, 46.

³ *May 24, 1777, Nunziat. di Colonia, 279, *ibid.*

⁴ *Archetti to Pallavicini, May 21, 1777, Nunziat. di Polonia, 61, *ibid.*

⁵ " *Soli. Sedulo perscrutatus sum et erui, toleratos innuisse

of Polotsk and had seen with his own eyes the walls of the wing that was to be the noviciate. On January 21st, 1778, Archetti sent the following extract from the Bishop's account (dated December 20th, 1777) : The Government has called on the Superior to build the noviciate and on its own responsibility has given permission for the acceptance of candidates. On his doubting that this would be permissible without the assent of the Holy See, it had undertaken to pursue the matter in Rome. The Bishop pays the highest tribute to the discipline of the Jesuits and adds that if they were to perish in the course of time serious harm would ensue for the Catholics of Russia. It was therefore the desire of the empress and himself that the preservation of the Society in this country should be brought about in some way or another. The expressions of opinion in the enclosed confidential letter are typical of the prelate's character. When the publication of the " Bull Jesus Christus " (*sic*) was forbidden, the Rector of Polotsk repeatedly asked the Bishop to take over the direction of the Society, but the latter declined. Thereupon the Superior, otherwise a prudent, pious man, highly thought of by the Governor, assumed the direction of all the houses here, in the manner of the General of the Order, so that the people began to wonder if the Society had cut itself off from the Holy See. It rests with the nuncio to decide if the Holy See is to be advised to allow the Jesuits to continue to exist, retaining their dress and their life in community, but at the same time to make them entirely dependent on the Ordinary or some other prelate.¹ Archetti was not averse to granting the Bishop the

et regimen temporale ad Urbem (Purpurati nomen percontari non potui) scripsisse, ut Sanctissimus iis Dunaburgii vel Polocii tyrocinium religiosum aperire concedat." Nunziat. di Polonia, 320 and 61.

¹ " *Auctoritas civilis Superiorem palam invitaverat, ut aedes pro Novitiatu pararet, ultro non petenti obtulerat facultatem recipiendi et aggregandi. Quin etiam negotium facessenti ac absque Apostolicae Sedis consensu id ibi illicitum asseveranti diserte promiserat, ibi etiam causae promotionem non intermittendam . . ." Siestrzencewicz to Archetti, December 20, 1777,

right to supervise the Jesuits, as this, in his opinion, would have the double advantage of putting an end to the "illegitimate" situation without offending the Court of St. Petersburg.¹ But his proposal met with no approval in Rome. Pallavicini answered curtly that it would be impermissible to cancel the rulings of the Brief of suppression. Sympathetic as he was, the Pope could not decide to depart from the instructions imparted the previous year in connexion with the question of the ordinations. They were quite adequate for the needs of the Russian Catholics. The Bishop was to use every possible means to prevent the Society increasing.²

Siestrzencewicz, when informed by the nuncio of Rome's decision,³ was not disheartened by this setback. On his visitation travels he had noticed in various Orders regrettable conditions that urgently required redress. In his view the cause of the trouble was that since the separation from Poland the religious houses had no higher Superior and were precluded also from appealing to the nuncio. Accordingly he now offered to take on the general direction of all the regular clergy in White Russia. This project, which was eagerly supported by Archetti,⁴ met with the Pope's approval. With the latter's authorization (August 9th, 1778) the Bishop was appointed by Propaganda as Apostolic Delegate and Visitor for three years and was thus invested by the ecclesiastical authority with the jurisdiction over all the religious Congregations in his diocese, which had already been conferred upon him by the civil power.⁵ On transmitting to him the decree

contained in Archetti's letter to Pallavicini of January 21, 1778, Nunziat. di Polonia, 61 and 321; LORET, 270 *seqq.*

¹ *To Pallavicini, January 21, 1778, *loc. cit.*

² *Pallavicini to Archetti, February 28, 1778, *ibid.*, 47; LORET, 274 *seq.* Cf. *Pallavicini to Garampi, March 14, 1778, Nunziat. di Vienna, 669, *ibid.*

³ *Archetti to Siestrzencewicz, April 15 and August 28, 1778, Nunziat. di Polonia, 84, *ibid.*

⁴ *Archetti to the Propaganda, June 3, 1778, *ibid.*, 323; *Archetti to Castelli, June 3, 1778, *ibid.*, 339.

⁵ *Letter from the Propaganda to Archetti, August 15, 1778,

of Propaganda on September 17th, 1778, the nuncio congratulated the prelate on this special mark of confidence.¹ To make completely sure of his ground Siestrzencewicz repeatedly induced Archetti to confirm that on the strength of this communication he wielded unrestricted authority over the secular and regular clergy of White Russia.² In return, he was able to assure the nuncio that apparently Count Czerniszew had changed his mind about the noviciate.³ Highly pleased with this success, Archetti set to with redoubled energy to procure for the Bishop admission to the Polish Order of the White Eagle, which was avidly desired by the ambitious man.⁴ And on a note of triumph the nuncio reported to the Cardinal Secretary of State that even without the support of the Spanish ambassador Lacy the Pope had succeeded on his own authority in putting an end to the noviciate that had already been begun.⁵

This was certainly the intention. The Secretary of the Propaganda, Stefano Borgia, is said to have remarked that in the decree was contained the death-blow to the Jesuits in

ibid., 69. The decree of Propaganda is reproduced verbatim in the Bishop's decree of June 30, 1779. See below, p. 247, n. 1. It is also printed in MURR, *Journal*, IX. (1780), 315. Cf. ZALENSKI-VIVIER, I., 475 *seq.*

¹ *Nunziat. di Polonia, 84, *loc. cit.*

² " *Videtur quod rigorosioribus potestatis saecularis interrogationibus Ill^{ma} D.V^a satisfacere possit affirmando in tota regione russiaca clerum latinum tam regularem quam saecularem sibi in omnibus obtemperare atque a suo nutu imperioque pendere." Archetti to Siestrzencewicz, *ibid.*, 340.

³ *Archetti to Pallavicini, July 28, 1779, *ibid.*, 63.

⁴ *Archetti to Siestrzencewicz, January 14 and June 5, 1779, *ibid.*, 340.

⁵ *Archetti to Pallavicini, December 9, 1778, *ibid.*, Add. XIX. Whereas Grimaldi had always pressed in Rome for stringent measures to be taken against the Jesuits in White Russia, Archetti learnt that the new Spanish ambassador, Lacy, had no instruction to urge the Czarina to carry out the Brief of suppression. This was on account of the critical political situation. *Pallavicini to Archetti, May 31, 1777, *ibid.*, 46.

Russia.¹ On November 20th, 1778, Siestrzencewicz, in compliance with the State regulations, sent the decree of Propaganda to Potemkin, the Minister for Church affairs, in order to obtain the *exequatur*.² When Catherine affixed her *placet* to the decree on March 13th³ she had already formed her plans.⁴ The document which had been evolved for the destruction of the Society was to be its salvation. The Bishop was ordered either to make use of the decree to the Jesuits' advantage or to declare that his powers were insufficient.⁵ His behaviour in the past left no doubt of the choice he would make.⁶ Several months went by and then there suddenly appeared a pastoral letter from the Bishop of Mallo permitting the Jesuits to open a noviciate and to accept applicants for entry into the Society. The Bishop observed by way of introduction that out of regard for the illustrious ruler of Russia Clement XIV. had refrained from executing the Brief of suppression in that country. Similarly, Pius VI. had

¹ GAGARIN, 63 ; *ROZAVEN, 49 *seqq.*

² *Siestrzencewicz to Potemkin, November 20, 1778, *Sbornik*, I. (1867), 424.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ " *Placet Clementissimae Imperatrici persistere in gratiosissimo suo proposito, ut Societas Iesu, quam Maiestas Sua hactenus in Albae Russiae Guberniis protegere dignatur, in suo pristino statu ad futura etiam tempora servetur, et ut in iisdem Guberniis Tyrocinium Societatis haberi possit . . ." These words, taken from a letter from Count Czerniszew to Czerniewicz, were reported by the latter to an unknown rector on March 1, 1779. In Jesuit possession, Russia, *Epist. Generalium*, I. (1778-1798).

⁵ *Siestrzencewicz to Archetti, September 13, 1779, *Nunziat. di Polonia*, 323, *loc. cit.* ; LORET, 279 *seq.*

⁶ Siestrzencewicz's own version of the business was that when the " Bull " was presented to her the empress conceived the notion " de perpétuer l'ordre de Jésus dans son empire ". She ordered the Bishop to open a Jesuit noviciate in Polotsk " en vertu du pouvoir si ample qu'il venait de recevoir du Pape . . . L'évêque n'hésita pas d'obéir à sa Majesté Impériale et d'exécuter cet ordre." GODLEWSKI, *Monumenta ecclesiastica Petropolitana*, I., 40 *seq.*

shown his goodwill towards the sovereign by not issuing any ban on the Jesuits retaining the vows, name, and dress of their Society. The empress had repeatedly charged the Bishop orally and in writing to show favour to these religious and to provide for their survival. And as the Jesuits had no noviciate and their numbers were dwindling to such an extent that they could no longer perform their professional duties, the Bishop after assiduous prayer and thorough consultation with his Chapter, had come to a decision on the effectiveness of the Papal decree. In virtue of the powers conferred upon him he granted for cogent reasons the Clerks of the Society of Jesus permission to open a noviciate and admit novices, and he imparted to them his episcopal blessing. Endorsed with the imperial confirmation, the pastoral letter was to be affixed to the doors of the churches, it was to be read from the pulpit on three Sundays, and it was to be explained to the faithful in the vernacular.¹

For the Jesuits this episcopal ordinance came just in time. Between 1773 and 1780 they had lost eighty-six members, thirty-three by death, the remainder by secession. Five mission stations in Livonia had had to be abandoned for lack of staff. In one or two years more the fate of the schools, for whose sake alone the Society had been kept alive by the Russian Government, would have been sealed for ever.²

In an official letter of July 12th, 1779, to the nuncio in Warsaw, Siestrzencewicz remarked towards the end of it that he was enclosing his recently published pastoral letter, the

¹ Printed in *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Sum. add. p. 124-7. *Merkwürdige Nachrichten von den Jesuiten in Weissreussen* ², Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1786, 51-6; THEINER, *Die neueste Zustände*, 127, No. XXXIII.; CARAYON, XX., 274 seqq.; *Razón y Fe*, XXXIX., 217 seqq.; CRÉTINEAU-JOLY, *Histoire*, V. (1851), 397 seqq.; *Gazeta Warszawska* of July 31, 1779. Cf. the same paper of August 7, 1779, supplement; *Sbornik*, I., No. II., pp. 462 seqq. This first volume (pp. 421-539) contains numerous documents of Russian provenance dealing with the noviciate of Polotsk.

² GAGARIN, 64; *ROZAVEN, 48.

introduction to which contained the reasons for the step, so that he would not repeat them on the present occasion.¹ This was all there was in the letter, which was an unpleasant surprise for Archetti. In conjunction with Stackelberg he had just obtained for the Bishop the insignia of the Order of the White Eagle² and now, instead of thanks, there was this open act of defiance! On September 1st of the previous year the prelate had told him that as a result of his pleading Czerniszew had apparently changed his intentions regarding the Jesuit noviciate, and now there was this unfortunate proclamation, which was an insult to the memory of Clement XIV. and cast doubts on the loyalty and trustworthiness of Pius VI. In his imagination the nuncio could already hear the repercussions of the pastoral letter in the Polish, Prussian, German, and Netherlandish journals. A memorandum for the Russian ambassador seemed to him to be the most prudent and effective counter. For weighty reasons, he would tell him, the Holy See had entrusted the Bishop with the general superintendence of the regular clergy in White Russia. In clear contradiction to the Papal letter the prelate in his edict had assumed the power of restoring the suppressed Society or at any rate of recognizing as members of an Order clerics whose Institute had been suppressed. As a result of this step the nuncio felt himself obliged to inform the ambassador that the Pope was not disposed to alter the rulings laid down by his predecessor in the Brief *Dominus ac Redemptor* and he asked him to apprise his sovereign of the real views of Pius VI. The new friendly relations between Russia and the Bourbons seemed to Archetti to guarantee the success of this step.³

As the nuncio had rightly foreseen, the publication of the pastoral letter aroused enormous interest. The noviciate at Polotsk seemed suddenly to have become the centre of European politics. From Lisbon to St. Petersburg the journals and diplomatic dispatches were full of indignation at the

¹ *Nunziat. di Polonia, Add. XIX., *loc. cit.*

² *Archetti to Siestrzencewicz, June 5, 1779, *ibid.*, 340.

³ *Archetti to Pallavicini, July 28, 1779, *ibid.*, 36 and Add. XIX.

scandal.¹ The opening of the noviciate was too rough a blow against the originators of the suppression. If the noviciate remained in existence, the fallen adversary was not dead; one day he might be able to celebrate his resurrection. No wonder that the Bourbon Ministers left no means untried to parry this deadly blow. But their efforts were wasted. None of their counter-moves had any effect on the rigid will of the Russian empress.

In Rome the news came like a bolt from the blue.² The Vatican was in a most awkward situation. The Pope had repeatedly assured the representatives of the Bourbons that he would do nothing against the Brief of Clement XIV.³ The step taken by the Bishop of Mallo might be taken as evidence of a secret understanding, of double-dealing. Pius VI. himself demanded a report on the matter from Borgia, the Secretary of the Propaganda, and the reasons for investing the Bishop with so far-reaching powers.⁴ On the following day he sent the Spanish ambassador Grimaldi a letter of justification. On the basis of the events that had led up to the decree and the correspondence between Archetti and Siestrzencewicz that had preceded it, he explained that the Bishop had not been justified in the inference he had drawn in his pastoral letter. He informed the ambassador that the nuncio in Warsaw had been instructed to take energetic counter-measures and he asked the Catholic king in his turn to work, through his representatives at the Court of St. Petersburg, for the cessation of the policy of maintaining the Jesuits in their former condition, since the chief cause of the Bishop's edict had been

¹ *Caleppi to Pallavicini, August 30, 1779 (confidential), *Nunziat. di Germania*, 400, *loc. cit.*; PIERLING, V., 105 *seq.*; NONELL, *Pignatelli*, II., 84 *seqq.*

² MASSON, *Bernis*, 343 *seq.*, 346.

³ PIERLING, V., 105.

⁴ *Borgia to Pius VI., August 23, 1779, *Nunziat. di Polonia*, 323, *loc. cit.* According to a Roman satire of the time, "Sanctus Ignatius de Loyola Societatem instituit, Sanctus Franciscus Borgia ampliavit, Dominus Stephanus Borgia restauravit." NONELL, *Pignatelli*, II., 86, n. 1.

the favour shown them by the empress.¹ Bernis' opinion was that the Pope was not displeased to see that a grain of the Society's seed had been preserved in those distant parts.² Moreover, the fate of the Church in Russia was too deeply involved for Pius to dare excite the anger of the almighty empress. Instead of taking a firm attitude towards Siestrzencwicz and of annulling his edict, as Bernis demanded, he contented himself with protests and with the demand for a recantation. But not so the Cardinal Secretary of State. Highly enraged and violently inveighing against the Bishop of Mallo, he wrote to Archetti on August 21st that it was disgraceful to maintain that Rome had authorized the erection of a Jesuit noviciate. The nuncio was to present the Russian ambassador with an *aide-mémoire* explaining that the prelate had been wrong in deducing from the decree of Propaganda the authority to take the step he had done. Neither Clement XIV. nor Pius VI. had willingly had any part in the omission to publish the Brief. Orally, through Stackelberg, he was to ask the Czarina, seeing that she had promised the Catholics her protection, not to allow anything to be done in her dominions against the Papal ordinances.³ A week later, showing no appreciation of the limits of what was attainable,

¹ *Pius VI. to Grimaldi, August 24, 1779, Archives of Simancas, Estado 5056.

² "Il n'était point fâché qu'on conservât de la graine des Jésuites dans les pays éloignés." Bernis to Vergennes, September 1, 1779, Masson, *Bernis*, 358. "Mais quant à la façon de penser de Pie VI., nous pouvons assurer, qu'il était très content de la chose en elle-même, et dans la suite il voulut être instruit régulièrement et en détails de tout ce qui faisaient les Jésuites de la Russie Blanche, et le fut exactement par une personne qui avait autrefois appartenue à la Société, et il ne manqua pas de leur accorder des grâces particulières toutes les fois qu'il le pouvait faire sans se compromettre vis-à-vis des ministres puissants dont il était entouré." ROZAVEN, 65.

³ *Nunziat. di Polonia, 47, *loc. cit.* There was no mention in the pastoral letter of any positive co-operation on the part of the Pope.

he demanded that the Bishop retract his pastoral letter and publicly beg the Pope's pardon for the scandal he had given the Catholic world.¹ On September 1st, in the name of the Pope, a memorandum was handed to the representatives of the Powers accredited to the Holy See, stating that Siestrzencewicz's edict was in contradiction to the decree of Propaganda and that the Holy See regarded the Society of Jesus as abolished and was resolved not to make any alteration in the ordinances issued by the late Pope.² Similarly in the early part of September the Cardinal Secretary of State sent all the nuncios a circular letter in which he set forth the whole course of events in detail, condemned the Bishop's procedure in the strongest terms ("*scandalosa impostura, e calunnia*"), and enumerated the steps that had been taken to repair the disaster.³ On September 11th, 1779, yielding to Bernis'

¹ *Pallavicini to Archetti, August 28, 1779, *ibid.*

² " *Per particolari e giuste cause rappresentate alla Santa Sede dal Vescovo di Mallo in Bianca Russia, essendosi conceduta al medesimo la soprintendenza sopra i Regolari, che vi dimorano, quel Prelato con una contradizione manifesta a ciò [che] si legge nel Rescritto della S. Congr. di Propaganda, ha annunziato, e pubblicato a tutto quel gregge Cattolico Romano che vive sotto il di lui spirituale Governo, che le proprie ecclesiastiche facoltà si stendano a ripristinare ordini Regolari già estinti dalla S. Sede, o ad approvare de' nuovi, come altresì a riconoscere per Regolari di certo soppresso Istituto, coloro che per costituzione pontificia più non lo sono, nè altri in avvenire possono esserlo. I veri sentimenti invece fissi e costanti del Sommo regnante Pontefice sono stati, e sono di non immutar quel che dal suo antecessore Clemente XIV. si stabilì e decretò nel di lui Breve che comincia *Dominus ac Redemptor* Laonde tutto quel che si è fatto dal Vescovo di Mallo in questo proposito, è contrario, nonchè alieno dalle facoltà che gli si erano attribuite." Archives of Simancas, Estado 5056. This statement is identical with that addressed by *Pallavicini to Bernis and Grimaldi on August 25 and 26, 1779. In Jesuit possession, Russia, I., fasc. V. (from Bernis' papers).

³ *Pallavicini to Caleppi, September 4, 1779, Nunziat. di Vienna, 678, *loc. cit.*; *here, too, Pallavicini launches forth in

pressure, Pallavicini had the rumour about the restoration of the Jesuits officially denied in the Roman journal *Cracas*. Here it was stated that not only had the Pope not given any permission for the erection of the noviciate but that the contrary was known to the Bishop.¹ The *Gazette de Cologne* printed the correction at Bellisomi's instigation² but also published in a supplement the assertion that through the instrumentality of the former nuncio in Warsaw Clement XIV. had approved of the survival of the Jesuits in Russia and Prussia.³ Pallavicini had a strong denial of this printed in *Cracas*⁴ and by means of the nuncio in Cologne compelled the editor to retract.⁵

the most violent diatribes against the pastoral letter issued by the Bishop: "con cui autorizza la erezione di un preteso Noviziato dagli estinti Soci, e con una scandalosa impostura, e calunnia ne ripete la legittimità dallo stesso Breve di soppressione della Santa memoria di Clemente XIV., e da un successivo rescritto della Congregazione della Propaganda." Cf. *ibid.*, another letter to the same person, September 11, 1779.

¹ "Diario ordinario," 490. Grimaldi, having fallen out with Bernis, took no part in this step and even refused to support Bernis until he had received instructions from Madrid. MASSON, *Bernis*, 357.

² *Pallavicini to Bellisomi, September 11, 1779, Cifre, Nunziat. di Colonia, 272, Papal Secret Archives; *Bellisomi to Pallavicini, September 23, 1779, Cifre, *ibid.*, 195.

³ Issue No. 78 of September 28, 1779. Cf. *Archetti to Pallavicini, October 20, 1779, Nunziat. di Polonia, 63, Papal Secret Archives; *Bellisomi to Pallavicini, September 30, 1779, Nunziat. di Colonia, 195, *ibid.* Duhr's statement, therefore, that there was no news of Clement XIV.'s alleged Brief until 1786 needs amending (*Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, LXXXVII. [1914], 466; GENDRY, *Pie VI.*, I., 346 seq.).

⁴ On October 16 and 23, 1779. *Pallavicini to Bellisomi, October 13, 1779, Cifre, Nunziat. di Colonia, 272, *loc. cit.*; *Archetti to Pallavicini, October 20, 1779, Nunziat. di Polonia, 63, *ibid.*

⁵ "Supplément à la Gazette de Cologne du mardi 19 8bre 1779." *Bellisomi to Pallavicini, October 21, 1779, Nunziat. di Colonia, 195, *loc. cit.*; *Caleppi to Pallavicini, October 11 and 28,

But as the rumour still persisted,¹ Garampi placed all his correspondence with the Bishops of Prussia and Russia at Pallavicini's disposal.²

Two of Garampi's letters throw some light on the Bishop of Mallo's contradictory behaviour in the matter of the Jesuits. As nuncio to Warsaw he had given the prelate to understand that his accommodating attitude towards these religious might be frowned on in Rome and prove to be an obstacle in the way of his promotion. The Bishop's attempts, therefore, both before and after this, to execute the Brief by devious means may well be due to his desire for rapid promotion.³ On the other hand, his yielding to the civil power at every check and his readiness to fulfil its wishes are ascribable to financial considerations and the despotism of the empress.⁴ His alleged intentions of retiring were probably never meant to be taken seriously and were more likely means of exerting pressure on Rome.

Archetti let almost a month pass before answering the Bishop's fatal letter. His powers, he explained, related only to the lawfully existing Orders in Russia, whereas the Jesuits

and November 1, 1779, Nunziat. di Germania, 400, *ibid.* The Austrian newspapers were not allowed to publish the *démenti*, the reason given being that it was forbidden to write either for or against the suppression. Only the Italian journal was able to speak out, having been founded after the publication of the veto.

*Caleppi to Pallavicini, November 4, 1779, *ibid.*

¹ *Pallavicini to Bellisomi, October 20, 1779, Cifre, Nunziat. di Colonia, 272, Papal Secret Archives.

² *Garampi to Pallavicini, March 5, 1780, Nunziat. de Germania, 401, *ibid.*

³ *Garampi to Siestrzencewicz, April 18, 1774, Nunziat. di Polonia, 81, *ibid.* Cf. *Archetti to Castelli, March 20 and April 30, 1777, *ibid.*, 339.

⁴ " *In sostanza egli paventa di perdere i 10 mila rubli che gli rende quel putativo vescovado, e vive in una nazione dove legislativo e coattivo diviene ogni desiderio e ogni cenno della Sovrana." Garampi to Pallavicini, September 13, 1779, Nunziat. di Germania, 397, *loc. cit.*

were not recognized as such by Rome. Nor did the decree of Propaganda contain the authority to cause the resurrection of an Order that had been suppressed. Finally he demanded the withdrawal of the pastoral letter in some circumspect but definite manner.¹ Siestrzencewicz tried to avoid adopting any definite position. In his pastoral letter, he protested, he had certainly mentioned the Brief of suppression but not the rules and privileges of the Order. He had not intended to approbate the Society of Jesus but solely to provide for the increase of recruits, after the authorities had rejected his proposal to erect a seminary for the training of clerics to take the place of the Jesuits, who were dying out. When the Uniats wanted to open a seminary they had been refused permission by the Government on the grounds that a seminary was shortly to be erected for the Greeks (schismatics) in Polotsk and that the Uniats could attend it, as their rite was very similar. Finally he had received the order either to open a noviciate or to declare that he was unable to do so on the strength of the decree. Was he to wait, then, till the Catholic schools had been entrusted to Voltairians and the churches to non-Catholics? If only he could describe the true situation of his Church quite openly to the nuncio, he would certainly be praised instead of blamed for the step he had taken.² Archetti replied with a solemn protest against the erection of the noviciate. In a confidential letter accompanying it he tried to persuade the Bishop by every possible means to publish another pastoral letter in the Press, withdrawing and annulling the licence he had granted.³ On the day before (October 6th)

¹ *On August 19, 1779, Nunziat. di Polonia, 84, *ibid.*

² *Siestrzencewicz to Archetti, September 13, 1779, Nunziat. di Polonia, 323, *ibid.*; LORET, 279 *seq.*; *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Sum. add. p. 128 *seq.*

³ “*La Santità Sua giudica necessario, che V.S. Ill^{ma} e R^{ma} pubblici per mezzo delle stampe un'altra Pastorale in disapprovazione ed abolizione della precedente, dichiarando i propri abbagli e ritrattandogli, annullando in seguito l'erezione del preteso Noviziato.” October 7, 1779, Nunziat. di Polonia, 84, *loc. cit.* Russian translation in *Sbornik*, I., 469.

he had handed the Russian ambassador the *aide-mémoire* that had been agreed with Pallavicini. In this he pointed out that Siestrzencewicz had knowingly exceeded his powers, wherefore he considered it necessary to make remonstrances against him, so as to leave no room for doubt about the real views of the Head of the Church regarding the members of the former Society of Jesus.¹ Stackelberg forwarded the *exposé*,² but the artful diplomat, while holding out hopes of a successful issue to the nuncio,³ informed Siestrzencewicz of the steps that Archetti had had to take against the pastoral letter at the behest of the Vatican and asked for instructions as to what answer to make to the continual questions with which he was being plied by the nunciature.⁴

In his remarkable reply the Bishop, after a terse description

¹ **Exposé*, State Archives, Moscow, Foreign Office, III., Warsaw, 1779, *Réception*, Sept.-Décbre.; *Sbornik*, I., 469 seq.

² *Stackelberg to Panin, September 25/October 6, 1779, State Archives, Moscow, *ibid.*; *Sbornik*, I., 468.

³ *Archetti to Pallavicini, October 20, 1779, Nunziat. di Polonia, 63, Papal Secret Archives. Cf. *Archetti to Pallavicini, September 29, 1779, *ibid.*, 323; LORET, 277 seqq.

⁴ *Stackelberg to Siestrzencewicz, October 2/13, 1779, Archives de la Mission de Varsovie, Moscow, 1779, No. 427a; *Sbornik*, I., 471; *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Sum. add., p. 130. "Le comte Stackelberg, qui lui envoya la copie [of Pallavicini's circular], lui découvrit cette politique de la Cour de Rome, ci-dessus indiquée, quelle était cachée dans cette pasquinade, comme il appelait cette lettre circulaire, et rassura l'Evêque de ne s'en point chagriner, d'être persuadé, que le Pape savait qu'il n'était que l'instrument de la volonté de sa Souveraine, et qu'il ne devait pas douter de la continuation de la bienveillance de Sa Sainteté envers lui. En effet l'Evêque fidèle à ses maximes et constant dans sa manière d'agir demeura tranquille. En réponse à la réception de la proclamation le Nonce de Varsovie écrivit à l'Evêque une lettre qui tient le milieu entre des plaintes et des reproches, qui naturellement était l'écho de la trompette romaine, et il continua la correspondance avec l'Evêque." GODLEWSKI, *Monumenta*, I., 41 seq.

of the development of the ecclesiastical situation, threw all the responsibility for his actions on the sovereign. Towards the end of 1773, he said, the empress had given him the verbal command not to publish the Brief of suppression and to maintain the Jesuits in their existing condition in perpetuity. Though frequently pressed to open a noviciate he had always excused himself on the plea of having insufficient authority. On the strength of the decree of Propaganda he had been instructed by a ministerial order to empower the Jesuits to set up a noviciate. With his pastoral letter he had complied with the imperial command. Let them therefore leave the Bishop, who had been nothing more than an instrument, out of the question entirely and deal with the sovereign, who, as she always had done, treated the Jesuits as religious. Even if he personally had held other views the result would have been the same; the empress's will was decisive; any opposition was useless. In these matters the same language was used on the Neva as on the Seine and the Manzanares: "This is my will," to which the answer was, "Your Majesty's will shall be obeyed." He had never intended any restoration of the Society, as every detail of his conduct had shown well enough. The harm he had done consisted solely in his having prevented heterodox professors occupying vacancies and in his having prolonged for a space the death-throes of the Society. One nod from the empress and all would be destroyed in a flash. If Rome thought otherwise, he would gladly lay down his office. He would be followed by a Bishop of greater skill and piety, but perhaps by none. It was not self-interest but solicitude for the welfare of the Church that had been the mainspring of his actions. It would go hard with him to have to leave the vineyard that had just been planted but he was ready to make the sacrifice.¹

Whether it was a clever counter-move by the Russian

¹ *Siestrzencewicz to Stackelberg, October 21/November 1, 1779, Archives de la Mission de Varsovie, Moscow, 1779, No. 427a; *Sbornik*, I., No. VI.; *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Summ. add., p. 131 *seqq.*

Government or was merely the ambitiousness of the Bishop cannot now be ascertained, but just at this time Galitzin, the Russian ambassador to Austria, presented a demand to the nunciature in Vienna that the Bishop of Mallo be admitted to the College of Cardinals.¹ In January, 1780, when the ambassador had raised the matter for the fourth time, Garampi objected that the conferment of such an honour at that particular juncture would be bound to give great offence to the Bourbons. At the end of his report the nuncio added the advice that if a refusal were to result in disastrous consequences for the Catholics in Russia the request should be granted.² From General Browne Garampi had learned that Siestrzencewicz, who with his brilliant gifts of conversation had won the favour of Court circles, was continually suggesting new projects, allegedly to enhance the glory of the sovereign but in reality to further his own importance. At one moment he was proposing the erection of a Catholic primatial see, at another he was opening up vistas of the brilliant rôle that the Russian Court would play in the Roman Church if it had a representative in the Sacred College, for through him it could exert an influence on the Papal election.³

Meanwhile in St. Petersburg the die had been cast. Catherine was more determined than ever to protect the Bishop, who had only carried out her will. She instructed her Foreign Minister, Count Panin, to send a courteous letter to the Holy See in reply to the nuncio's protest, but at the same time to defend Siestrzencewicz in vigorous terms. Since her view was that the noviciate would benefit the schools in White Russia, she would never permit any alteration. She had once given her word to preserve Catholicism unimpaired in Russia so long as the Catholics were her loyal subjects. She was now proving

¹ *Caleppi to Pallavicini, September 23, 1779, Nunziat. di Germania, 400, Papal Secret Archives.

² *Garampi to Pallavicini, January 20, 1780, *ibid.*, 401.

³ **Id.* to *id.*, April 25, 1780, *ibid.* Rome would not listen to these suggestions because of the Bishop's attitude towards the question of the noviciate. *Pallavicini to Garampi, February 19, 1780, Cifre, Nunziat. di Vienna, 678, *loc. cit.*

that she kept her word. Besides, everyone was master in his own house and she had no doubt that what had happened was in accordance with the Pope's will. It was purely a matter of internal policy which had no concern with anyone else in the world. She was not disposed to take lessons from anyone nor did she recognize anyone's right to give them. Wherefore she asked the Pope to protect the loyal and zealous Bishop from every kind of persecution.¹ On the very same day Panin addressed to Stackelberg a dispatch in which he had clothed the contents of the imperial autograph letter in diplomatic phrases.² In accordance with his superior's intention, the ambassador in his turn informed Archetti that his sovereign regarded the matter of the noviciate as exclusively one of internal and secular politics. Siestrzencewicz in his obedience had merely performed his plain duty as a subject. There had thus been avoided, on the one hand, any violation of ecclesiastical privilege, and, on the other, any interference with the rights of a sovereign on the part of a foreign potentate, to the detriment of a Power which was little used to sharing its authority with others. Besides, the affair in question was obviously and exclusively for the benefit of the Catholic subjects, seeing that his Court was striving to keep this Society in existence solely to promote the education of Catholic youth.³

From the Polish envoy Antici Stackelberg had learned that it was the Bourbon Ministers who had caused the Pope to send the circular letter to the nuncios and that they were pressing him to take further steps, on the pretext that the Bishop's edict was due, not to the wish of the empress, but solely to the intrigues of the Jesuits.⁴ Whereas France showed signs of

¹ Catherine II. to Panin, October 22/November 2, 1779, in *Sbornik*, I., 475 ; PIERLING, V., 408 *seq.*

² *Sbornik*, I., 476.

³ *Stackelberg to Archetti, November 23, 1779, Nunziat. di Polonia, Add. XIX., *loc. cit.* ; *Sbornik*, I., 481.

⁴ *September 22, 1779, Archives de la Mission de Varsovie, Moscow, 1779, No. 427a.

being fairly well content with the statement made by Rome,¹ the Spanish Minister Moñino, now Count Floridablanca, was highly incensed, seeing his life-work endangered. Indignantly he demanded that the Pope should declare the Bishop's edict to be null and void and should threaten to depose him. The ambassador in Rome was to insist that through its weakness the Curia was to blame for the affair, that it was exposing its reputation to contempt, and that Spain had every right to complain about the manifest and universally notorious propensity of the present pontificate towards Jesuitism, which was now likely to show still more temerity. He would also take the necessary steps with the Russian Government.² And indeed, on September 27th, 1779, Normandez, the Spanish *chargé d'affaires*, was instructed to make every effort to induce the empress to declare the pastoral letter invalid and to command the prelate to keep to the former instructions of the nuncio in Warsaw. Further, the empress was to allow the Brief of suppression to be carried out to the letter in her dominions, as his sovereign regarded this as an essential condition for the peace of the States, especially his own.³ Moñino also tried to intimidate the empress by representing to Zinoviev, the Russian ambassador in Madrid, that the Jesuits were a danger to the State. His sovereign had been painfully affected by the business and hoped that the empress would give a definite order to the prelate, after he had been reprimanded by the Pope, to revoke the permission he had

¹ *Doria to Pallavicini, September 27, 1779, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 569, Papal Secret Archives.

² " * . . es menester estrechar en Roma sobre que las condescendencias de aquella Corte tienen la culpa de lo que pasa, dejando despreciar su propia autoridad y que de nadie podemos quejarnos con mas razón que de ella en todo el progreso de este Pontificado, cuya afección decidida al Jesuitismo y pública en toda Europa, da motivo a que se crea que ha de tolerar qualquier paso atrevido." Draft of a letter in Floridablanca's own hand, dated September 14, 1779, on the back of Grimaldi's letter to him of August 26, 1779. (Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5056.)

³ *Moñino to Normandez, September 27, 1779, *ibid.*

granted, to execute the Brief of suppression, and for the future to check the cunning intrigues of the ex-Jesuits, whose object was to establish afresh an independent and terrible monarchy like their former one, a monarchy that hatched conspiracies even against the princes who had protected and encouraged them all their lives. The advantages of a good education could be obtained by means of a sound and systematic scheme, without the assistance of religious Orders. Besides, if the Jesuits were allowed to continue, the Catholic merchants would be forced to leave Russia on grounds of conscience, which misfortune should be avoided by an enlightened Government.¹ At Moñino's instigation, Corberon, the French representative at St. Petersburg, was instructed to support the steps taken by the Spanish *chargé d'affaires*.²

The Foreign Minister was soon made to understand that his peremptory manner did not produce the same effects on the Neva as on the Tiber. Normandez had to inform him that the Czarina was inexplicably prejudiced in favour of the Jesuits and staked her honour on retaining their schools without regard for the discipline of the Catholic Church. In reply to his remonstrances the Ministers had told him that the subject was complicated by the empress having her own views on education, that she was determined to be absolute mistress in her own domains, and that she would never have thought of interfering in the affairs of the Spanish king. For Moñino this was a diplomatic defeat.³

¹ *October 7, 1779, State Archives, Moscow, Foreign Office, III., Madrid, 1779, *Réception*.

² *Zinoviev to Panin, October 31/November 11, 1779, Cifre, *ibid*.

³ " *El Vice-Canciller [Ostermann] me ha dicho que la intención de la Emperatriz no habia sido de mezclar en el negocio del Rey nuestro Señor; lo que éste quiere decir en modo de tratar las negocios de aquel Ministro está aclarado por lo que llevo espuesto a V. E. Cuento unicamente con lo que me dice el Sr Conde de Panin, quien se ha explicado conmigo con toda atención, sin ocultarme no obstante que para el mismo es embarazoso el negocio, visto lo

Meanwhile Archetti was trying to appease the excitement in Rome—naturally so, as his reputation was involved and he had been accused of allowing himself to be drawn into a trap. Certainly, he wrote in a letter of self-defence to Cardinal Antonelli, every effort must be made to obtain the revocation of the episcopal edict but at the same time anything that might affront the Russian Government must be avoided, for on this depended not only the fate of the Russian Catholics but also that of Poland—let there be no illusions on that score. If the steps that had been taken up till then continued unavailing they could still try the effect of a public disapprobation.¹ Pallavicini he tried to appease by reporting to him that the novices had not been streaming in in such numbers as had been put about. According to the information gathered by the Basilians, only one ex-Jesuit had applied for admission up till then.² On receiving the Russian reply to his letter of protest Archetti sent Cardinal Antonelli all the correspondence he had had with Russia. After describing again the Czarina's standpoint, he proceeded to say that Stackelberg was very willing to enter into negotiations in the hope of settling the matter to the satisfaction of both Powers, that is to say the Pope was to grant the Jesuits some sort of right to an ecclesiastical existence. The pros and cons of this proposal were then carefully weighed by the nuncio. That the Bishop had had no authority to take the step he had taken was covertly admitted

absoluta que quiere ser la Emperatriz en cosas de lo interior de sus Estados, y sus ideas sobre la enseñanza." Normandez to Floridablanca, November 26/December 6, 1779, Cifre, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5056. Catherine's letter to Charles III., which has been used so much by previous writers, is apocryphal. *Bellisomi to Pallavicini, December 26, 1779, Nunziat. di Colonia, 188A, Papal Secret Archives. (Linguet had already mentioned the supposed letter in his *Annales politiques*, VII., No. 52.)

¹ *Archetti to Antonelli, October 27, 1779, Nunziat. di Polonia, Add. XIX., Papal Secret Archives.

² *Archetti to Pallavicini, November 3, 1779, Nunziat. di Polonia, 63, *ibid.* The noviciate was opened on February 2, 1780, with eight candidates. GAGARIN, 68.

by him and the empress but what was the use of beginning long negotiations? They would only involve themselves in unpleasant disputes and expose themselves to indignity. And there was always the danger of finally annoying Moscow and thereby doing harm to the Catholics of that enormous empire and also to the ecclesiastical situation in Poland. It was his last remark especially that showed in which direction Archetti inclined, despite his efforts to repress his own opinion. Schismatic Russia admitted that on the whole the training of youth could not rest in better hands than in those of a religious congregation which had vowed itself to God and the task of education, whereas so many Catholics were sending their sons to Geneva, Berne, and London, to heretical and secular universities, or were procuring so-called philosophers of their enlightened age in order to entrust them with the training of their own children.¹

As Stackelberg learned from Antici, the Pope was taking a calmer view of the case than the official pronouncements led one to suppose. Satisfied that he had justified himself sufficiently to the Bourbon Powers, he decided not to make any further pronouncements in public but to confine himself to the negotiations which Spain and France intended to support by direct representations at the Court of St. Petersburg.²

¹ " * . . Finirò con una riflessione affatto estranea. Ha da venire la Moscovia a confessare, che l'educazione della gioventù non può stare in genere in miglior mani che di un corpo religioso, e consagrato a Dio a questo fine di giovare alla educazione del prossimo, mentre tanti Cattolici mandano i loro figli a Genevra, a Berna, a Londra, alle università eretiche e secolari, o si procacciano dei pretesi filosofi del secolo illuminato per confidar ad essi la propria prole." Archetti to Antonelli, December 1, 1779, Nunziat. di Polonia, Add. XIX., *loc. cit.*

² Stackelberg to Panin, December 4/15, 1779, State Archives, Moscow, Foreign Office, III., Warsaw, 1779, September–December, *Réception*; *Sbornik*, I., No. XIV. Several private letters written at this time from Rome also mention that Pius VI. did not take so tragic a view of the matter as Pallavicini's official pronouncements led one to suppose. *Borgia to Archetti, September 30, 1779,

In a long discussion on the Russian situation held by the Pope and Cardinal Bernis in August 1780, the former said that he noted with regret that the Czarina with her sound common sense was the only person to see quite clearly the advantage she had gained for herself by gathering together and preserving the men whom other countries had expelled. It can be seen from this, remarks the narrator, how intrinsically different the Pope's way of thinking is from the declarations made in the letters of the Cardinal Secretary of State. The States interested must think of some remedy quickly, otherwise the Society will soon come to life again.¹

While Pius VI. was striving to maintain an attitude of prudent moderation, the Spanish Government was feverishly active in trying to extinguish the tiny remnant of the Society of Jesus. In the autumn of 1779 some Russian ships had been detained at Cadiz on the charge of carrying contraband.²

Nunziat. di Polonia, 59, *loc. cit.*; *Ex-Assistant Korycki to Czerniewicz, November 6 and December 4, 1779, in Jesuit possession, Russia, III., fasc. III. In his first letter Korycki warned Czerniewicz to collect all the documents which could testify to the complete innocence and obedience of the Jesuits in White Russia; without this evidence it would be impossible to write the true history of the Society.

¹ “*... soggiunse il Santo Padre, che avea il rammarico di vedere, che la Czara si fosse l'unica, che fosse dotata di un ottimo discernimento e di una perfetta cognizione del merito avendo raccolti e conservati gli espulsi dagli altri Stati... Si scorge intanto, quanto sia intrinsecamente diverso il modo di pensare del Papa dalle intenzioni fatte manifestare dal Segretario di Stato al S. Marchese Antici nel biglietto del 25 febbraio, di cui si è spedita copia; e siccome queste contraddizioni non possono che involgere il Papa in qualche grave impiccio, Egli che lo prevede, si ne trova così inquietato, che la salute ne va soffrendo sempre più...” Carlo Mazin to Sambuca, undated [August 22, 1780], State Archives, Naples, Esteri-Roma, 1086.

² *Floridablanca to Zinoviev, October 26, 1779, State Archives, Moscow, Foreign Office, III., Madrid, 1779, *Réception*. During the American War of Independence (1776-1783) France and Spain had allied themselves with the United States against

In the discussions that ensued the Foreign Minister proposed to the Russian ambassador a most favourable commercial treaty in return for the complete extinction of the Society, an object desired by his king more ardently than any other.¹ Although this offer was unmistakably refused, the Spanish *chargé d'affaires* had to pursue this same object in conjunction with the French and Portuguese representatives.² Through his ambassador Grimaldi Moñino kept on pressing the Curia for an official Papal annulment of the Bishop of Mohilev's pastoral letter. By this means, he urged, the Pope would wreck the empress's plans, for the Jesuits would immediately become schismatics and would certainly be rejected by the Catholic Poles.³

England (1778), while the other European Powers, under Russian leadership, maintained an armed neutrality.

¹ *Zinoviev to Panin, January 13/24, 1780, Cifre, State Archives, Moscow, Foreign Office, III., Madrid, 1780, *Réception*. " *Je dois à présent ajouter à V. E., que la Comte Floridablanca dans cette dernière conversation insista, on ne peut plus, sur l'affaire des Jésuites. Il est certain, que le Roi d'Espagne n'a rien plus au cœur, que l'extinction entière de ces religieux. Ce n'est pas seulement par entêtement qu'Elle (!) s'est proposé de détruire cet Ordre jusqu'au moindre vestige, mais aussi par une haine implacable contre ces Pères, qui [*sic*] lui a inspiré son confesseur, comme Franciscain et par conséquence ennemi juré de cet Ordre. Des principes pareils m'engagent à croire, que c'est peut-être le moment favorable de tirer quelque avantage ou du moins un agrément quelconque pour le commerce de Russie avec l'Espagne, comme une espèce d'équivalent de la condescendance, qu'on pourroit avoir chez nous à l'égard du Roi d'Espagne, en étouffant le reste des débris de l'Ordre des Jésuites. Il se peut bien, que cette idée paroîtra peu fondée à V. E., mais je l'envisage ainsi, et l'attachement au service de ma Cour m'oblige de la lui communiquer." Zinoviev to Panin, January 16/27, 1780, Cifre, *ibid*.

² **Id.* to *id.*, October 31/November 11, 1779, Cifre, *ibid*. Normandez to Floridablanca, December 10, 1779, Nunziat. di Polonia, 344, V., Papal Secret Archives.

³ *Floridablanca to Grimaldi, January 18, 1780, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5056; *Grimaldi to Pallavicini, February 4,

When the King of Poland attempted to negotiate through Antici, his envoy to Rome,¹ Floridablanca abruptly intervened. Grimaldi was to recall the solemn promise given by the Pope not to make the slightest alteration in the enactments of the Brief of suppression. In the interest of the dignity of the Holy See, the personal honour of the Pope, and, above all, religion, his master considered it expedient, to avoid any misunderstanding, for the Secretary of State to reply as follows. The mediation of the Polish king would be welcome to the Roman Curia if any sort of negotiation were possible. The affair was quite clear and definite. By postponing the punishment of the Bishop till the present time the Pope had shown his goodwill towards the Czarina quite sufficiently. Now it was necessary for the prelate to admit his guilt. If he did so he would be assured of lenient treatment. The honour of the Holy See demanded the complete fulfilment of the promises that the Pope had made quite clearly and in all solemnity. This reply, which had been prepared at the command of the Spanish king, was to be presented to the Pope by Cardinal Bernis, to ensure its being put into execution.²

Pallavicini, who was in the pay of the Spanish Government and was its willing tool, urged the nuncio in Warsaw time and again to prevail on Siestrzencewicz to withdraw his edict

1780, Nunziat. di Polonia, *loc. cit.*; *Floridablanca to Grimaldi, September 21, 1779; *Grimaldi to Floridablanca, October 7, 1779; **id.* to *id.*, November 25, 1779, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. 116.

¹ Stackelberg to Panin, December 1, 1779, *Sbornik*, I., No. XIII; *Archetti to Pallavicini, January 19, 1780, Nunziat. di Polonia, 63, Papal Secret Archives; Antici to the King of Poland, January 26, 1780, *Sbornik*, I., 486. Antici's plan was to suppress the Jesuits in White Russia and reorganize them into a School Institute on the Silesian model.

² " *Memoria, Progetto di risposta," which Pallavicini was to give the Marchese Antici, of February 11, 1780, Nunziat. di Polonia, 344, V., Papal Secret Archives. Cf. the final form in the Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. 116.

and to make satisfaction.¹ Archetti, knowing how much his future depended on the issue, tried his hardest to achieve success. He had learned from a newspaper that the empress had commended the Bishop on his conduct and had intimated to the Jesuits² that she would visit the noviciate at Polotsk. He had also been reminded by various persons of the sovereign's obduracy.³ If, nevertheless, he imagined, on the strength of information supplied by Grimaldi,⁴ that the Court of St. Petersburg would follow the example of Berlin, which had just permitted the publication of the Brief in West Prussia, he was soon to be disillusioned. Directly Catherine

¹ *Pallavicini to Archetti, January 8 and February 5, 14, and 25, 1780, Nunziat. di Polonia, 48 and 242A, *loc. cit.*

² *On January 16, 1780, *ibid.*, 48.

³ " *Soggiunse inoltre il Protonotario [Ghigiotti], che io non dovessi lusingarmi della pubblicazione del Breve in Bianca Russia, ma che al più la Czara avrebbe forse tollerato cangiamento nel abito di quei Refrattari. Al che replicai, *che la pubblicazione del Breve, o sia intimazione formale della seguita soppressione, era onninamente indispensabile e necessaria*; e siccome l'abito non faceva, così non disfaceva il Monaco, e molto meno il Gesuita." Archetti to Pallavicini, March 8, 1780, Nunziat. di Polonia, 63, *loc. cit.* In February, 1780, the Provost Benislowski had brought the nuncio a letter from Bishop Siestrzenecwicz, of September 16, 1779, in which the prelate, after reviewing the past, had assured the nuncio that it was not from any real liking for the Jesuits but for fear of the Government that after a long struggle he had given way to avoid a greater evil. The Czarina would have her way because she considered these religious useful; but they were foreigners and if the order was carried out they would emigrate to Poland. *Archetti to Pallavicini, February 16, 1780. Confidential. Nunziat. di Polonia, *ibid.* Archetti's suspicion that the Bishop had antedated his letter so as not to have to deal with the letter of October 7, 1779, from the nunciature, was groundless. Cf. *Siestrzenecwicz to Archetti, June 8/19, 1780, *ibid.*, 325; *Archetti to Pallavicini, April 5, 1780, Cifre, *ibid.*, 324; **id.* to *id.*, July 26, 1780. Confidential. *Ibid.*, 64.

⁴ *Archetti to Normandez, March 4, 1780, Nunziat. di Polonia, 84. Papal Secret Archives.

heard from Stackelberg of the Polish attempt at mediation¹ she sent him a sharply-worded note putting a stop to any further discussion on the subject of the noviciate either then or in the future. Recapitulating the reasons for her former attitude, she declared that as she did not meddle in the internal affairs of other Powers, she forbade them to interfere in hers. Foreigners were not entitled to demand an account of their actions from subjects who were obeying the commands of their empress. This reply was to serve him as a principle in dealing with any representation made by the Bourbon or any other Court. She considered any further explanation superfluous. The question was always to be treated as one of domestic policy, especially where the Papal Curia was concerned. When the latter saw how immovable she was it would desist from its demands and resist the pressure of the Bourbons, so as not to lose what little influence she still allowed it to exercise over the Catholics of Russia.² At the empress's command the same reply was conveyed by Panin to all the Russian ambassadors to the Bourbon Courts, Madrid in particular,³ to enable Zinoviev to frame his reply to Moñino's letter.

¹ " *J'avois engagé le Roi, de charger le susdit Marquis, d'empêcher quelque incartade de la Cour de Rome à l'égard de l'évêque Siestrzencewicz ; le Pape a pris cette demande pour une offre de médiation de la part de S.M. Polonoise. Ce nouvel incident mérite trop d'attention de ma part, pour que je ne prie V. Exc. de me faire parvenir les ordres de l'Impératrice sur cette supposition, et la manière de la réaliser." Stackelberg to Panin, January 22/February 2, 1780, State Archives, Moscow, Foreign Office, III., Warsaw, 1780, *Réception, Sbornik*, I., 487, No. XV. The account given here by Stackelberg of the steps he had taken differs from that of the nuncio, who had consistently reported on a Polish mediation.

² Catherine II. to Stackelberg, February 14/25, 1780, State Archives, Moscow, *loc. cit.* ; *Sbornik*, I., 488, No. XVI.

³ *Bezborodko to Panin, February 14/25, 1780, State Archives, Moscow, *loc. cit.* ; *Panin to Zinoviev, February 29, 1780, *ibid.*, Madrid, 1780, *Expédition*.

This way of speaking had the desired effect. It was feared that the empress would abandon her position of neutrality and would ally herself with the English against the Bourbons. The French envoy, Corberon, strongly advised his Government to abstain from pursuing the matter any further. Panin, too, he said, though not of the same opinion as his mistress, warned him to desist. After all, why take so much trouble about so trivial a matter? ¹ Consequently Bernis was instructed to moderate his requests to the Curia and to persuade Grimaldi to do likewise.² Stackelberg gave the Papal nuncio to understand that the Holy See should renounce any further attempt to expand its ecclesiastical authority at the expense of the sovereign's rights, or else it would meet with the firm resistance of the empress, against which the fulminations of the Vatican would be of no avail.³

Archetti did his best to hide his failure from Rome, asserting that the Russian envoy, who until then had had every hope of a successful outcome, had received an order from the empress not to speak of the matter any more. He had divulged to him in absolute confidence that the ultimate and fundamental cause of the unfortunate turn the negotiations had taken was the detention of the Russian ships in the harbour of Cadiz. The incident had made the empress very angry with Spain, as she regarded it as an act of spite in retaliation for the support she was giving to the Jesuits. The Russian Government's manifesto to the Powers about the violation of international law was a clear proof of this.⁴ The Cardinal Secretary of State and, according to his accounts, the Pope

¹ *Corberon to Vergennes, March 10, 1780, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6645.

² Vergennes to Bernis, April 4, 1780, in Masson, *Bernis*, 360.

³ Stackelberg to Catherine II., March 2/13 and 17/28, 1780, State Archives, Moscow, Foreign Office, III., Warsaw, 1780, *Réception, Sbornik*, I., 491, No. XVIII. Cf. *Azara to Floridablanca, April 6 and 13, 1780, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5056; *Pallavicini to Archetti, May 6, 1780, Nunziat. di Polonia, 48, Papal Secret Archives.

⁴ *Archetti to Pallavicini, March 22, 1780, *ibid.*, 63.

too, were sorely disappointed by the turn of events¹; still more so Grimaldi, who had been nursing the hope that, if the Bishop continued to resist, Rome would issue an official decree declaring his pastoral letter invalid. Pallavicini had to use all his eloquence to convince the ambassador of the impracticability of such a step.²

Further developments brought about the retirement of the Uniat Archbishop of Polotsk, Smogorzewski, who had fallen out of favour with the Court. The explanation offered to the public was that the prelate had resigned of his own accord and had applied for the Uniat Metropolitan see in Poland, which had fallen vacant.³ The real reason was that Smogorzewski had passed on to Siestrzencewicz several letters from the nuncio asking for the suppression of the noviciate. Unused to opposition, Catherine sent an order to the prelate to betake himself to his new see without waiting to nominate his successor.⁴ Pallavicini, in his letter to the nuncio, asked him to cancel some of his latest instructions, as the unyielding attitude maintained by the empress demanded the utmost circumspection.⁵ France and probably Spain too, he continued, now saw that to slight the proud Czarina would only benefit the Jesuits.⁶ Moreover, they were ceasing to press the Pope to make an official announcement.⁷ To insist any further was not the business of the Holy See; that must be

¹ *Pallavicini to Archetti, April 15 and 22, 1780, *ibid.*, 48.

² *Pallavicini to Pius VI., April 24, 1780, *ibid.*, 324.

³ Catherine II. to Pius VI., January, 1781, *Sbornik*, I., 506 *seq.*, No. XXXI. Cf. Stackelberg to Panin, June 30 and July 15, 1779; Panin to Stackelberg, July 22, 1779, *ibid.*, Nos. XIX, XX, XXI.

⁴ “*Consistorium Polocense Administratori Metropolitano,” of August 30, 1780, Nunziat. di Polonia, 145, *loc. cit.*; *Archetti to Pallavicini, July 19 and August 30, 1780, *ibid.*, 335; LORET, 281 *seqq.* Cf. *Archetti to Pallavicini, April 5, 1780, Cifre, Nunziat. di Polonia, 324. *Merkwürdige Nachrichten von den Jesuiten in Weissreussen*, 283 *seq.*

⁵ *Pallavicini to Archetti, May 13, 1780, Nunziat. di Polonia, 48.

⁶ **Id.* to *id.*, June 3, 1780, *ibid.*

⁷ **Id.* to *id.*, April 29, 1780, *ibid.*

left to the Bourbons, who were equally interested in finding a successful solution to the problem.¹ As the Catholic world had been sufficiently informed of the true state of affairs, further steps must be postponed, lest the representative of the Holy See be exposed to another rebuff and the Russian Court be given an excuse for oppressing the Catholics.²

During this diplomatic campaign the Jesuits had striven to strengthen their position. The noviciate had been opened on February 2nd, 1780, with eight candidates ; it was impossible to accept any more, owing to the Jesuits' poverty and the paucity of colleges.³ On July 15th of this year there took place the customary renewal of their vows by the scholastics, the first since the catastrophe of 1773, while the professed and the trained coadjutors ratified theirs in private.⁴ The former Polish Assistant Korycki had even held out hopes to them of the Society being restored in the near future throughout the world.⁵

Archetti, after Stackelberg had firmly resisted another attempt of his to reopen negotiations, set his hopes on an intervention by the Emperor Joseph II., who was to meet the Czarina in June, 1780.⁶ According to Garampi's report, the monarch had promised his mother before setting out not to enter any Jesuit college or church or to have any converse with Jesuits. His court chaplain, too, the ex-Jesuit Kalatay, had been given episcopal instructions to avoid any dealings with the so-called Jesuits of Russia.⁷ But events turned out

¹ **Id.* to *id.*, May 20, 1780, *ibid.*

² **Id.* to *id.*, June 24, 1780, *ibid.*

³ *Czerniewicz [to Ex-Assistant Rhomberg?], July 15, 1780, in Jesuit possession, Russia, III., fasc. I.

⁴ *Czerniewicz to Kareu, June 26, 1780, *ibid.*

⁵ *Korycki to Czerniewicz, November 6 and December 4, 1779, *ibid.*, fasc. III. ; *Archetti to Pallavicini, June 21, 1780, Nunziat. di Polonia, 64, Papal Secret Archives.

⁶ *Archetti to Pallavicini, April 26, 1780, *ibid.*, 63.

⁷ *Garampi to Pallavicini, May 31, 1780, Nunziat. di Germania, 401, *loc. cit.* " *Anche l'Imperatore, il quale scherzava qui spesso al suo solito sopra il ripullulamento de' Gesuiti, ha promesso alla

contrary to the nuncio's expectation. On her way to Mohilev, where the two sovereigns were to meet, Catherine paid a visit to the Jesuit noviciate at Polotsk, the significance of which gesture, after the diplomatic negotiations that had preceded it, was unmistakable.¹ The emperor cleverly adapted himself to his hostess's way of thinking, twice attending the service in the Jesuit church and chatting pleasantly afterwards with the Vice-Provincial, to whom he offered his best wishes for the future. Bishop Siestrzencewicz, he told him, had only done his duty in forwarding a work which was of equal benefit to religion and the State.²

Meanwhile the Bishop's reply to the nuncio's letter of October 7th, 1779, had arrived at last in Warsaw. The prelate assured Archetti that it was not until the morning of June 19th, 1780, that his letter had been handed to him by Count Czerniszew. The route that had to be taken by the nuncio's letters as well as his own, and the empress's letters to Stackelberg might serve as an answer and explanation. In all the steps he had taken he had been moved solely by his zeal for the real interests of religion and his devotion to the Holy See.³

Imperatrice Madre, che in Mohilovia ne schiverà ogni discorso e che ricuserà di conversar con loro, ed anche di entrare nella loro casa e chiesa." *Ibid.*

¹ *Archetti to Pallavicini, June 21 and July 5, 1780, *Nunziat. di Polonia*, 64, *loc. cit.* " *Ubique illa [Catherine II.] manifestis benignitatis suae indicis propitiam se nobis exhibere dignata est, ac demum per Ill^{um} Dñum Com. Vicarium Albae Russiae de Czerniszew certiores nos fieri voluit de sua in nos perenni clementia hisce omnino verbis: ' Nunc demum Societas nostra (nostram dixit, ut indicaret se illam diligere aequae ac si ipsa esset de Societate) tam firmiter est stabilita quam si inniteretur ipsi Petrae Apostolicae.' " Czerniewicz [to Rhomberg ?], July 15, 1780, in Jesuit possession, Russia, III., fasc. I; *ROZAVEN, 66 *seq.*

² *Czerniewicz [to Rhomberg ?], *loc. cit.*; *Archetti to Pallavicini, July 26, 1780, *Nunziat. di Polonia*, 64, Papal Secret Archives; *ROZAVEN, 68. Cf. *Gazeta Warszawska*, July 5, 1780, Supplement.

³ *Siestrzencewicz to Archetti, June 8/19, 1780, received July 2 (N.S.), *Nunziat. di Polonia*, 64 and 325, *loc. cit.*

While Pallavicini refrained ¹ from sending another letter of protest ² only because of the nuncio's representations, Archetti was assuring the Bishop of his constant friendship.³ And now fresh complications were afoot, the issue of which was unpredictable. Not only had the Uniat Archbishop of Polotsk been relieved of his office, still without the nomination of a successor, but there seemed a definite likelihood of a schismatic Bishop being appointed, or at least it was intended to force the Uniats to accept the Latin rite and to subject all the Catholics to Bishop Siestrzencewicz.⁴ In any case everything depended on his goodwill and anything that might estrange him from Rome had to be avoided at all costs.

In these perilous circumstances Pius VI. appealed in person to the Czarina to give the Uniats another Archbishop.⁵ Without discussing the Pope's request the empress replied that the satisfaction with her attitude by the supreme head of the Roman Church encouraged her to ask for the *pallium* for Archbishop Siestrzencewicz of Mohilev and for the appointment of a coadjutor.⁶ This project seems to have originated with the said prelate. In the second half of January 1780, Provost Benislowski had come to St. Petersburg for the purpose of securing, through the favourite Potemkin, the

¹ *Pallavicini to Archetti, September 16, 1780, *ibid.*

² " *Minuta di lettera da inoltrarsi al Vescovo di Mallo da Mgr. Archetti, August 12, 1780," *ibid.*, 48.

³ *On November 14, 1780, *ibid.*, 340.

⁴ As Bishop Ryło, the candidate first thought of for Polotsk, preferred an episcopal see in Galicia (Stackelberg to Panin, February 12/23, 1780; Panin to Stackelberg, February 28, 1780; *Sbornik*, I., Nos. XXII and XXIII.), the Czarina ordered the Governor-General Czerniszew on July 13, 1780, to entrust the direction of the archdiocese to a consistory of three to four members. *Ibid.*, No. XXV.

⁵ On September 16, 1780, *ibid.*, 501 *seq.*, No. XXIX. Stackelberg had been approached on the same subject by Archetti on August 1 and by the King of Poland on August 3. *Ibid.*, Nos. XXVI. and XXVII.; MASSON, *Bernis*, 362.

⁶ *Sbornik*, I., 505 *seq.*, No. XXXI. The letter of December 31, 1780, was handed to the nuncio in January, 1781.

elevation of Siestrzencewicz to the Uniat archiepiscopal see of Polotsk and to cardinalitial rank, together with his own preferment to the coadjutorship. The ambitious prelate could see no reason why Rome should object to a Latin and Greek bishopric being amalgamated and governed by one person, seeing that Pius VI. in his letter to Catherine had spoken of only one Roman Catholic prelate. They were fortunate not to have the post filled by a schismatic. There could be no objection to him personally, on account of the Jesuit noviciate, as he had only acted at the behest of the empress, for the purpose of preserving the religious who were indispensable for the education of the young. Canonically the decree of Propaganda authorized him to take this action, as the Jesuits of White Russia were regarded as legitimate religious not only by the Court and the people but also by the Catholic clergy. If his edict were revoked the consequences would not be advantageous either to himself or the Catholics. Further, his elevation to the archbishopric would not be regarded as a reward for his pastoral letter but as an act of goodwill shown by the Curia to the empress.¹ In order to induce the nuncio to favour his designs Siestrzencewicz secretly offered, in the event of the Pope assenting to his elevation, to transform the Jesuit Province into a school institute, to abolish the connexion between the colleges, and to place the various houses under the immediate control of the Ordinary.²

Actually Siestrzencewicz was aiming at more than the amalgamation of two bishoprics under one head ; his ultimate

¹ " *Instruction à Mr le Chanoine Benislawski," of January 20, 1781, Chief State Archives, St. Petersburg, Foreign Office, XII., 11, 192 ; *Sbornik*, I., No. XXXIV.

² " *Soli, solissimo Ex^{mo} Nuntio Apostolico . . . Si Sanctissimus pro his oris Societatem Institutricem, abolita mutua Collegiorum secum communicatione immediate ab Episcopo loci Ordinario rectam et pendentem approbaret, hanc ordinationem, licet anceps eventus, auderem Serenissimae proponere." Siestrzencewicz to Archetti, January 22, 1781, Nunziat. di Polonia, 64, Papal Secret Archives ; LORET, 288.

purpose was to bring the Uniats over to the Latin rite.¹ Rome was sorely perplexed about the answer that was to be made to the Czarina, for her proposal seemed not merely inadvisable but positively dangerous.² As Archetti learned from Antonelli, the Pope was thinking of asking the Czarina directly to give the Uniats an Archbishop of their own rite. So far as his personal characteristics were concerned there was no objection to Siestrzencewicz becoming a Latin Archbishop but the Bourbon Courts had magnified the importance of the incident of the Jesuit noviciate to such a degree that Pius VI., for good or for ill, had to pay regard to it. Any preferment of the Bishop would be taken by them to be a mark of favour towards the suppressed Society.³ Another cause of anxiety for Rome was the information that on his return to Vienna Joseph II. had told the nuncio Garampi that Catherine was flattering herself that the Society would flourish anew and would spread from Russia over the whole of Europe.⁴ A similar story was being circulated by the Marchese Antici among his intimates in Rome.⁵

Archetti warned Rome not to link the Jesuit question with that of the Uniats. The empress, he said, made it a point of honour not to take instructions from anyone and she refused to have the subject mentioned ; to broach it would ruin everything. In his dealings with her the Papal representative must

¹ *Garampi to Pallavicini, March 5, 1781, Cifre, Nunziat. di Germania, 403, Papal Secret Archives.

² *Pallavicini to Garampi, March 24, 1781, *ibid.*, 679.

³ *Antonelli to Archetti, March 3, 1781, Nunziat. di Polonia, 69, *loc. cit.*

⁴ *The emperor had heard from the empress that there was a prospect of negotiations between her and the Pope. "Ma per quanto mi dimostrò, ne ignorava egli l'oggetto, supponendo anzi che si agirasse intorno all' esistenza dei sedicenti gesuiti, per i quali egli sa quanto impegno abbia la detta Sovrana, quasi nella lusinga che abbia una volta a ripullulare dai suoi paesi l'estinta Società e diramarsi nuovamente nell' Europa." Garampi to Pallavicini, March 5, 1781, *ibid.*

⁵ *Pallavicini to Garampi, March 24, 1781, Nunziat. di Vienna, 679, *loc. cit.*

act as if there were no thought of the Jesuits. The only person to deal with on this matter was Siestrzencewicz, who now saw that his action was obstructing his promotion. He should be encouraged to carry out his latest proposal. In their own interest the Bourbons would have to acquiesce in this solution of the Jesuit question.¹ Pallavicini, however, was not inclined to pay much heed to these considerations. He sent the nuncio in Warsaw a letter for the Bishop, demanding as an indispensable condition for his elevation to archiepiscopal rank the official proclamation of the Brief of suppression.² But Archetti thought it wiser not to forward the letter.³ The Bourbon envoys to St. Petersburg, he wrote to the Prefect of the Propaganda, had imposed silence on themselves for political reasons; were they to be so foolhardy as to jeopardize the interests of religion and at the same time utterly to spoil the Jesuit affair? And this would be the result if the settlement of this dispute were made an indispensable condition of

¹ *The legate to Russia "neppur per ombra facciasi menzione all' Imperatrice degli ex-gesuiti. Conviene anzi mostrar che non vi si pensi. Quello che è seguito, è cosa certissima, che seguì per puntiglio dell' Imperatrice per far mostra di non prender legge da niuno, e darsi il vanto di proteggere e sostenere coloro, che avean saputo ingannar la sua mente con rappresentanze di eccessiva persecuzione. Se si toccherà questa corda, temo assai, che in vece di bene ne verrà tutto il male alla Religione degli Uniti, e de' Latini, e si renderà sempre più irreparabile lo scandalo, che danno quei refrattari . . . Il Mallense è ambizioso, e ligio alla volontà Sovrana al maggior segno, ma internamente nol credo nè fanatico nè invaso da spirito di partito. Prevede, che i fatti accaduti possono metter dell' impedimento alla bramata sua esaltazione. Io sono pertanto d' avviso, ch' egli abbia fatto il progetto, che V. E. sa, di proprio movimento, e per il fine sopraccennato." Archetti to Antonelli, March 31, 1781, Nunziat. di Polonia, 77 and Add. XIX., Papal Secret Archives; *Archetti to Pallavicini, March 28, 1781, *ibid.*, 64; LORET, 291-6.

² *Pallavicini to Archetti, March 24, 1781, Nunziat. di Polonia, 48, *loc. cit.*; " *Lettera da farsi dal Nunzio al Vescovo di Mallo," *ibid.*, 344, Add. V.

³ *Pallavicini to Archetti, May 12, 1781, *ibid.*, 48.

negotiation.¹ To these energetic representations Pallavicini gave way and on May 26th, 1781, he sent a draft letter couched in more moderate terms.²

Archetti now urged Siestrzencewicz to carry out his plan of severing the connexion between the colleges, placing them under the immediate jurisdiction of the Ordinary, and of putting a secular priest in charge of each house, mention to be made in the decree of installation that he was to direct the community on the lines of the Br:ef *Dominus ac Redemptor*. If this seemed too dangerous, it must at least be said in the decree that the president was to administer the college according to the sacred canons and the Papal ordinances. If the Bishop acted on this proposal he could rely on the Pope's benevolence.³ But Archetti's high-flown hopes were not to be fulfilled. A few months later he received a note informing him in confidence that the plan had leaked out. The Governor General had not only put difficulties in its way but had actually demanded the promotion of the Provincial to General, which demand the writer had refused.⁴

It was not till December, 1781, that the Pope's impatiently awaited reply ⁵ to the Czarina's letter of the previous January arrived in St. Petersburg. Pius VI. began by expressing his pleasure at the forthcoming visit of the Grand Duke Paul and his wife, to whom he would accord an honourable welcome. He then asked again for a Uniat Bishop for Polotsk, in return

¹ *Archetti to Antonelli and Pallavicini, April 18, 1781, *ibid.*, Add. XIX. and 64; LORET, 288 *seqq.*

² *Nunziat. di Polonia, 48, *loc. cit.*

³ Archetti to Siestrzencewicz, June 19, 1781, *ibid.*, 64. Cf. *Archetti to Pallavicini, April 18 and June 27, 1781, *ibid.*; *Normandez to Floridablanca, June 14, 1781, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6648.

⁴ Siestrzencewicz to Archetti, August 19, 1781, "Soli," Nunziat. di Polonia, 326, Papal Secret Archives; *Archetti to Pallavicini, September 12, 1781, *ibid.*, 64; *Pallavicini to Archetti, October 6, 1781, *ibid.*, 48.

⁵ *Archetti to Pallavicini, June 27, 1781, *ibid.*, 64. Cf. above, p. 272, n. 6.

for which he would grant all the Czarina's wishes, on the sole condition that Siestrzencewicz first revoked his decree.¹ This was too much for the self-willed empress. On January 17/28th, 1782, in spite of the opposition of the Holy See, she appointed her protégé Archbishop of Mohilev and furnished him with quite extraordinary powers over the secular and regular clergy.² Replying to the Pope, she said that she could not understand why he should be dissatisfied with a Bishop who had done nothing more than obey his spiritual and temporal superior. The pallium was due to him as the appointed Archbishop and Benislowski would be his coadjutor.³ At the same time she informed her representative in Warsaw that she had appointed Siestrzencewicz Archbishop of Mohilev in return for his services and Benislowski his coadjutor. The Holy See was to approve of these appointments. If Archetti reverted to the Jesuit affair he was to give him a clear and definite answer.⁴ On handing the imperial autograph to the nuncio, Stackelberg intimated to him that if the Roman Curia tried to impose conditions on the empress or even demanded satisfaction from the Archbishop of Mohilev, any further negotiations would be pointless, as the Czarina, who had personally ordered the opening of the noviciate, would find them incompatible with her dignity. The Pope's refusal might have prejudicial effects for the Catholics of Russia.⁵ As no objections had been made to Benislowski, Stackelberg engaged

¹ October 27, 1781, *Sbornik*, I., 507 seq., No. XXXII. In a confidential *letter to Siestrzencewicz, of December 10, 1781, Archetti told the Bishop that the Pope felt that his honour had been impugned by the pastoral letter and hoped that he would make him adequate satisfaction. *Nunziat. di Polonia, 85.

² PIERLING, V., 120.

³ Catherine II. to Pius VI., January 30/February 9, 1782, *Sbornik*, I., Nos. XXXVa (Russian) and b (French).

⁴ Catherine II. to Stackelberg, February 10, 1782, *ibid.*, 521 seq., No. XXVI.

⁵ “*... J’ai fait sentir au Représentant du Pape tout le préjudice qui pourroit résulter à la Cour de Rome du peu de cas qu’elle ferait des dispositions de Votre Majesté Impériale en

the prelate Ghiotti, who was to greet Pius VI. in Vienna on behalf of the Polish king, to prevail on the Pope and the nuncio Garampi not to make any further difficulties about the conferment of the pallium on Siestrzencewicz.¹ On being pressed by Prince Galitzin ² Garampi replied that the Pope would do his utmost to satisfy the Court of St. Petersburg but that definite limits were set to his goodwill by the consideration he had to pay to the Catholic Powers. On his return to the Holy City the Pope would have the documents put before him and would convey his decision to the empress through the nuncio in Warsaw.³

Pius VI. was in a serious dilemma. On the one hand Bernis and Grimaldi wanted him to make the fulfilment of the demands dependent on the publication of the Brief of suppression,⁴ on the other he was assailed by anxiety about the fate of the numerous Catholics in White Russia, whom the tyrannical empress threatened to deprive of the religious freedom that had been granted them.⁵ As Joseph II. had assured him in Vienna, there was no question of her making any concession.⁶ Taking advantage of this vacillating attitude of the Pope's,

faveur de l'Archevêque de Mohilew, de la Coadjutorie, et pour le bien en général de la religion catholique dans Son vaste Empire." Stackelberg to Catherine II., February 24/March 7, 1782, State Archives, Moscow, Foreign Office, III., Warsaw, 1782, *Réception*; *Sbornik*, I., 522 seq., No. XXXVII.

¹ Stackelberg to Ostermann, March 16/27, 1782, State Archives, Moscow, *loc. cit.*; *Sbornik*, I., 523 seq.; *Galitzin to Catherine II., April 13/24, *ibid.*, Vienna, 1782, *Réception*.

² *Galitzin to Catherine II., June 22/July 3, 1782, *ibid.*

³ *Garampi to Pallavicini, July 4, 1782, Nunziat. di Germania, 407, Papal Secret Archives.

⁴ *Archetti to Pallavicini, March 28, 1781, Nunziat. di Polonia, 64, *ibid.*; *Antonelli to Archetti, April 21, 1781, *ibid.*, 69; MASSON, *Bernis*, 364; GENDRY, *Pie VI.*, vol. I., 582.

⁵ *Antonelli to Grimaldi, August 1, 1782, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. 3 (1782-3); Catherine II. to Grimm, September 30, 1782, in PIERLING, V., 123.

⁶ *Grimaldi to Floridablanca, August 1, 1782, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5056.

Grimaldi demanded that no decision be taken by him that could give the slightest offence to the King of Spain and that he notify his intentions in advance to the Bourbon Courts, on whose friendship he was dependent in the present critical position of the Holy See.¹ Consequently Pallavicini wrote to the Spanish ambassador that all the efforts of the Holy See to induce the Bishop to make satisfaction for his pastoral letter had been frustrated by the inflexible will of the empress. So as not to leave the church of Polotsk any longer without a pastor the Pope had decided to bestow the pallium on Siestrzencewicz on condition that Polotsk was given a Greek Uniat Bishop and that Siestrzencewicz made a statement that the enactment in his pastoral letter did not derive from the decree of Propaganda but resulted from a positive order of the Court of St. Petersburg. Archetti, he said, had been instructed to renew the protests of the Holy See and to assure the empress that Rome would never acknowledge the restoration of the Jesuits in White Russia.²

The Cardinal Secretary of State added in justification of these conditions that the Pope found himself compelled to make this demand, as otherwise it would be thought by the whole Catholic Church that he was approving of the arbitrary and false interpretation of the letter from Propaganda and was giving his consent to a step which contravened the ordinances of the Holy See.³ In a supplementary instruction of some

¹ **Id. to id.*, August 15, 1782, *ibid.*

² *Pallavicini to Grimaldi, August 28, 1782, Nunziat. di Polonia, Add. XXI., Papal Secret Archives; *Pallavicini to Garampi, September 18, 1782, Nunziat. di Vienna, 680, *ibid.*

³ "Non può dunque il S. Padre senza carico della dignità, che sostiene, e senza macchia permanente della propria estimazione dissimulare questa doppia offesa, avendo pur troppo scandalizzato già tutto il mondo cattolico la da tanto tempo obliata corrispondente soddisfazione . . . Regoli intanto ogni suo discorso col ridetto Ministro in guisa da convincerlo della impossibilità in cui trovasi il Santo Padre di tollerare, non che di concorrere alla resurrezione degli Exgesuiti dell' Alba Russia . . ." Pallavicini to Archetti, September 7, 1782, Nunziat. di Polonia, 49, *loc. cit.*;

length Pallavicini gave Archetti to understand that Pius VI. would be content with a less formal recantation, such as a skilfully worded phrase in the oath taken by the Bishop on the assumption of office. But the Bishop must carry out his promise to dissolve the connexion between the colleges, appoint secular clergy as superiors, forbid the reception of novices, and insist on the others putting aside the dress of the Society—in fine, he was to oppose everything that might further the restoration of the Society. It was to be pointed out to the Czarina that her object, the encouragement of education, could be better attained by the execution of the Brief, as was exemplified by the many universities and academies conducted by secular priests.¹

Catherine II. was not disposed to put up any longer with these refusals, even though they were enveloped in a cloud of compliments and excuses. On September 30th, on receiving an invitation from Rome, she had written ill-humouredly to Grimm, “ I have no wish to be admitted to the membership of the Arcadia, having no talent whatever for versification and still more because it would give some pleasure to the Pope, who refuses to give me any, withholding even such trifling favours as the pallium for my Archbishop of Mohilev and the consecration of his coadjutor. To rid myself of these hindrances I am being forced by the Pope to have recourse to methods I am reluctant to employ. I am tired of all these wretched delaying tactics.”²

Signs of a coming storm duly made their appearance. Accustomed to the unconditional fulfilment of her wishes, the Czarina began to threaten in Vienna and Warsaw. On November 4–15th, 1782, she wrote to Count Stackelberg that if the Pope did not send her a satisfactory reply soon he

Archetti's **Memoria* for Stackelberg [October, 1782], *ibid.*, 344V.; **Archetti* to Antonelli, November 16, 1782, *ibid.*, Add. XIX.

¹ Pallavicini to Archetti, October 19, 1782, Nunziat. di Polonia, 49, Papal Secret Archives; LORET, 296 *seqq.*

² PIERLING, V., 123.

would lose all his power in Russia, as she would abolish religious freedom and convert White Russia to Orthodoxy.¹ For the nuncio the ambassador painted the situation in the blackest colours. His sovereign, he said, had ordered him to apprise him that if Rome did not fulfil all the requests immediately and unconditionally she would forbid the Catholic religion to be practised in any part of the realm.² These words had the desired effect. Although Archetti made a show of doubting the advisability of passing on these threats, actually he advised Rome the same day to make concessions. In his opinion the best, and indeed the only, course was to send a Papal legate to Russia to clear up the confusion by verbal negotiations.³ He had written to Rome in this sense, not entirely disinterestedly, on a previous occasion.

The situation, difficult enough already, was rendered more so by another incident. During the diplomatic duel between Rome and St. Petersburg the first General Congregation of the Jesuits of White Russia had been held at Polotsk, resulting in the election, on October 17th, 1782, of Stanislaus

¹ Catherine II. to Stackelberg, November 4/15, 1782, *Sbornik*, I., 525, No. XL. ; Galitzin to Catherine, November 26/December 7, 1782, State Archives, Moscow, Foreign Office, III., Vienna, 1782, *Réception*.

² Stackelberg to Catherine II., November 19/30, 1782 ; *Sbornik*, I., 527, No. XLI. On December 6 Galitzin handed Garampi a copy of the empress's threatening letter to Stackelberg, of November 4. " Visto il tenore minaccioso dello scritto . . . ero quasi in procinto di ricusarlo, ma per non dar presa a nuove querele, dissi di sperare tuttavia, che fossero fuor di tempo e di proposito le allegate minaccie." Garampi had told Galitzin that it would be better not to forward the threatening letter, lest the success of the affair be endangered. " Non fu veramente contento il Principe di tale mio divisamento, prenunciandomi che, qualora non venga soddisfatta all' istante e senza condizione alcuna la Sua Sovrana, si procederà senza meno all' esecuzione delle minaccie . . . "

*Garampi to Pallavicini, December 9, 1782, and January 9, 1783, *Nunziat. di Germania*, 407 and 410, Papal Secret Archives.

³ *Archetti to Pallavicini, November 30, 1782, *Nunziat. di Polonia*, 65, *loc. cit.*, *id.* to *id.*, December 11, 1782, *ibid.*

Czerniewicz, hitherto Vice-Provincial, as Vicar General.¹ The election had been held with the permission of the empress, who had taken this opportunity of re-confirming the exemption of the Jesuits from episcopal jurisdiction.² They had previously submitted the affair, with all their difficulties and misgivings, to the judgment of the former Polish Assistant Korycki in Rome. After consulting with the ex-Assistants Rhomberg and Montes and a theologian of the suppressed Society, Korycki had advised them to act as quickly and as unobtrusively as possible, so as to get the structure which had been begun, under shelter, not in virtue of imperial sovereignty but of the rights and privileges of the Society which had survived undamaged in Russia.³ To make a good impression on the nuncio⁴ Siestrzencewicz had tried to stop the election at the last minute by getting the Senate to issue an ukase whereby the Jesuits were to acknowledge him not only as their Bishop but also as their Superior-General, and were not permitted to consider themselves as exempt.⁵ He also tried by means of intimidation to prevent the General Congregation from electing the Vice-Provincial in particular.⁶ This interference the electors politely but firmly rejected, stating that in their infinite gratitude to the empress they felt bound to give their votes only to a man who would be a loyal subject of his sovereign and at the same time a devoted servant of his

¹ *Institutum Societatis Iesu*, II. (1893), 450 *seqq.*; GAGARIN, 87 *seqq.*; *ROZAVEN, 89.

² *June 25 and July 4, 1782, Nunziat. di Polonia, Add. XIX., *loc. cit.*, and Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5056; ZALENSKI-VIVIER, I., 464.

³ *Korycki to Czerniewicz, August 3 and September 21, 1782, in Jesuit possession, Russia, III., fasc. III. and IV.

⁴ *Archetti to Pallavicini, October 15, 1782, Nunziat. di Polonia, 65, *loc. cit.*

⁵ September 12, 1782, in Jesuit possession, Russia, III., fasc. IV.; Nunziat. di Polonia, Add. XIX. (with the date September 22), *loc. cit.*; ZALENSKI-VIVIER, I., 465.

⁶ *Siestrzencewicz to the General Congregation at Polotsk, September 28, 1782, in Jesuit possession.

Bishop and pastor.¹ After receiving a reassuring reply² from Potemkin to the request for an explanation of the contradictions in the two edicts³ they elected on October 6/17th, 1782, as Vicar General, with all the rights and powers of a General, the man who was indisputably the most capable member of their group, the Vice-Provincial.⁴ On the very next day he was assured quite openly by Potemkin of the Czarina's protection,⁵ to the discomfiture of Siestrzencewicz, who shortly before had boasted to Archetti of having succeeded in obtaining permission to change the highest Jesuit Superior and to present him with a successor subject to the Ordinary.⁶

On hearing of the election of the Vicar General the Bourbon representatives demanded that the Pope break his silence and put an end to the scandal by formally declaring the election to be null and void. The Pope's reply was that it would be useless. All that they could obtain was a *démenti* in the *Giornale di Roma*.⁷ The Courts now assumed the offensive.

¹ *September 30, 1782, *ibid.* This was an indirect way of saying that the Jesuits did not regard the Bishop as their General.

² Cf. the *letter from an unknown Jesuit in Polotsk, of May 30, 1782, according to which Potemkin and Czerniszew had given Canon Benislowski the assurance that the Jesuits were not affected by the law which subjected the religious to the Bishop. *Ibid.*, Russia, III., fasc. VIII.

³ September/October, 1782, *ibid.*

⁴ *The General Congregation to Siestrzencewicz, [October 6/17, 1782,] *ibid.*, fasc. IV.; *Czerniewicz to Siestrzencewicz, October 6/17, 1782, *ibid.*; *Archetti to Pallavicini, October 30, 1782, Nunziat. di Polonia, 65, and Add. XIX, *loc. cit.*

⁵ GAGARIN, 90; *ROZAVEN, 90. For the course of events, cf. *ibid.*, 83 *seqq.*

⁶ The Bishop's letter is contained in Archetti's *letter to Pallavicini, of October 15, 1782, *loc. cit.*; "Schedola del Mallense" (undated), Nunziat. di Polonia, Add. XIX.; Archives of Simancas, 5056; *Archetti to Pallavicini, November 6 and 16, 1782, Nunziat. di Polonia, 65, *loc. cit.*; ZALENSKI-VIVIER, I., 463 *seq.*

⁷ Bernis to Vergennes, November 13 and 26, 1782, in MASSON, *Bernis*, 365; *Bernis to Pallavicini, December 2 and 10, 1782,

At the instigation of Count Floridablanca¹ Bernis and Grimaldi sent a letter to the Cardinal Secretary of State on December 30th, 1782, demanding in the name of their sovereigns that the Pope, in view of his repeated promises, should issue a Brief or decree, declaring null and improper all that had taken place in Russia in contravention of the text of the Brief of suppression. A Brief addressed to their sovereigns would suffice.² As luck would have it, it was just at this time that the Czarina's harsh letter to Stackelberg with its threats, arrived in Rome.³ To pay regard to these conflicting interests without damaging the cause of religion, Cardinal Antonelli advised that concessions be made to both parties.⁴ Accordingly, on January 11th, 1783, Pius VI. sent Catherine a letter in which, with many apologies, he assured her that he intended to satisfy all her demands and, out of regard for her exalted person, to forgive the insult that had been offered him by the Bishop. He would be content with the Bishop's making satisfaction by showing his sincerity to the whole Catholic world, thus upholding the honour of the Church and his respect for its decrees. At the same time he repeated his request for the appointment of a Greek Uniat Archbishop for Polotsk. If the empress gave her consent, he would consider sending a Papal legate to St. Petersburg to settle outstanding

Nunziat. di Francia, 529, Papal Secret Archives; "Articolo ispirato dal Papa Pio VI." [1782], Nunziat. di Polonia, 49, *loc. cit.*

¹ "Capítulo de Carta particular del Sr Conde de Floridablanca," December 13, 1782, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. 3 (1782-3): *Grimaldi to Floridablanca, December 26, 1782, *ibid.*; Vergennes to Bernis, December 3 and 24, 1782, in MASSON, 365.

² Draft (in French and Spanish), Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5056.

³ *Pallavicini to Garampi, December 21, 1782, Nunziat. di Vienna, 680, Papal Secret Archives. Cf. GAGARIN, *Un Nonce du Pape à la Cour de Catherine II.*, Paris, 1872, 47 *seqq.*

⁴ *[Undated memorandum, January 1783], Nunziat. di Polonia, 344, V., *loc. cit.*

questions.¹ There was no mention of the Jesuits. Archetti was chosen as the legate.² After a long resistance the Pope also agreed, on January 29th, 1783, to send a secret Brief to the Kings of Spain and France. In this he declared that everything that had taken place in Russia regarding the Jesuits was null and void and he promised to adhere to the Brief of suppression.³ On forwarding the Brief Grimaldi called attention to the points in it which contradicted the letter to the Czarina. If all this became common knowledge, he surmised, the Pope's behaviour would be subject to bitter criticism. So far as we are concerned, he added consolingly, we now have his promise not to alter anything in the Brief of suppression and to regard the Jesuits in White Russia as non-existent.⁴ Lest the forthcoming negotiations with Russia be prejudiced, Pallavicini had demanded absolute silence on

¹ Pius VI. to Catherine II., January 11, 1783, Chief State Archives, St. Petersburg, Foreign Office, XII., 178; *Sbornik*, I., 528, No. XLII.; GENDRY, *Pie VI.*, vol. I., 401 *seqq.*; GAGARIN, *Un Nonce*, 49 *seqq.*

² *Pallavicini to Archetti, January 11, 1783, Nunziat. di Polonia, 49, *loc. cit.*; *Archetti to Pallavicini, February 1, 1783, *ibid.*, 65.

³ The principal statements are: "... perspicueque ipsis sensus nostros aperuimus plane... plane abnuentes improbantesque illa Mallensis acta, quae apostolicis fel. rec. Clementis XIV. praedecessoris nostri in forma Brevis litteris die 21 julii 1773 datis adversarentur... iisque [litteris] expresse profiteamur, haberi a nobis tamquam abusus atque illegitima ac nulla prorsus reputari, quaecumque vel in Alba Russia, vel alibi acta esse feruntur illis contraria, quas superius memoravimus, Clementis XIV. litteris." GENDRY, *Pie VI.*, vol. I., 404, n. 1. *To Charles III., January 29, 1783, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4997; to Louis XVI., January 29, 1783, THEINER, *Clementis XIV. Epistolae et Brevia*, 378 *seqq.*; to Queen Maria of Portugal, February 20, 1783, *ibid.*, 380 *seq.* The same Brief was sent off on April 11, 1783, to King Ferdinand IV. of Naples.

⁴ *Grimaldi to Floridablanca, January 30, 1783, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4997. Cf. Bernis to Vergennes, January 28, 1783, Collézione Theiner, Papal Secret Archives; MASSON, 366.

the matter of the Briefs.¹ The Bourbons were ready to agree to this as it was to their political advantage at the moment not to antagonize the Russians. The Spanish representative in fact received the instruction not to press the Jesuit question any further, as it was Rome's affair to protect its own interests.²

Before Pius's letter to Catherine had been dispatched the authorities in St. Petersburg had formed the plan of sending an agent to Rome to negotiate directly with the Pope. This method, it was thought, would be more likely to produce a satisfactory settlement of the outstanding questions. The person selected for this mission was the Coadjutor Bishop Benislawski, who was summoned to Court with the Vicar General Czerniewicz in November, 1782.³ In early January, 1783, Benislawski left for Vienna, having been told to avoid Warsaw. He was provided with a letter from the empress to the Russian ambassador in Vienna and another from the Cabinet to Santini, the Russian consul in Rome. Through Galitzin he obtained letters of recommendation from Garampi to Pallavicini, Antonelli, and Borgia.⁴ In the two conversations he had with the nuncio he assured him that though he was

¹ *Pallavicini to Colonna, January 30, 1783, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4997; *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Sum. add., 152 seq.

² Bernis to Vergennes, January 28, 1783, *loc. cit.*; *Pallavicini to Archetti, March 1, 1783, Nunziat. di Polonia, 49, *loc. cit.*; *Pallavicini to Doria, March 12 and 19, 1783, Nunziat. di Francia, 462A, *ibid.* " *En mi audiencia de esta noche manifestaré al Sto Padre la gratitud de S.M. asegurandole que por nuestra parte se guardará inviolable secreto de este asunto." Grimaldi to Floridablanca, March 13, 1783, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 4997.

³ *Archetti to Pallavicini, January 29, 1783, Nunziat. di Polonia, 65, *loc. cit.*; *Archetti to Garampi, February 12, 1783, *ibid.*, 85; *ROZAVEN, 90 seq.

⁴ *Galitzin to Catherine II., January 18/27, 1783, State Archives, Moscow, Foreign Office, III., Vienna, 1783, *Réception*; *Garampi to Pallavicini and Antonelli, January 27, 1783, Nunziat. di Germania, 410.

not empowered to make any official promise, the Basilian Archimandrite was earmarked for the Uniat Archbishopric of Polotsk. His sovereign felt herself slighted by the difficulties and delays created by Rome and she considered it incompatible with her dignity to enter into further negotiations. But if her wishes were met she would not let herself be outdone in magnanimity. When reminded that the official channel of communications was through the nuncio in Warsaw and that therefore the Pope could treat with him only as a private person, Benislawski replied that his commission covered everything he was entitled to demand. As for the much-discussed pastoral letter he gave the following explanation. When the decree of Propaganda was presented for the purpose of obtaining the *placet* Czerniszew suggested to the Court the decree be made use of for the benefit of the Jesuits. The draft of the pastoral letter was sent to the Bishop, who, though he inwardly objected, gave way to the representations of the local Catholics and complied with the Czarina's order lest greater harm befall the Church in White Russia. The King of Spain, who was trying to turn the empress against the Jesuits, received an answer that caused him, for the sake of his own dignity, to desist from all further negotiations on the subject. As for the suggestion that Siestrzencewicz could make satisfaction privately to the Pope, like the French Bishops who took part in the assembly of 1682, Benislawski declared that this was impossible, as his mistress was unyielding and inexorable regarding anything that rendered doubtful the restoration of the Jesuits, on which she had set her heart.¹

Benislawski arrived in Rome at the beginning of March ²

¹ *Garampi to Pallavicini, January 30, 1783, Nunziat. di Germania, 410, *loc. cit.*; *Pallavicini to Garampi, February 15, 1783, Nunziat. di Vienna, 681, *ibid.*

² Zulian, the Venetian ambassador, *wrote to the Doge on March 1: "Benislawski has arrived" (State Archives, Venice, Ambasciatore, Roma, 298); Benislawski's memory must have been at fault when he wrote to Potemkin that he had arrived in Rome on February 21 (probably "Old Style"; undated, in Jesuit possession, Russia, III., fasc. IV.).

and was immediately granted a lengthy audience by Pius VI.¹ No objections were made to the Provost's preferment to the rank of Coadjutor, and the Pope, on being assured by Benislawski that everything had been done at the empress's command, promised to forget the injustice done him by Siestrzencewicz. But he would not agree to grant the *pallium* until he had received a reply to his last letter to the Czarina. After making many inquiries about the Jesuits the Pope asked if the election of the Vicar General had taken place at the express command of the empress, and when the envoy replied that this was so, Pius said, "I do not object" ("*Je n'en disconviens pas*"). Benislawski was given a friendly welcome by Cardinals Antonelli and Herzan but met with a chilly reception at the hands of Pallavicini, who immediately asked him for his letter of credence. The Provost replied that he was neither ambassador nor envoy but that he had come to Rome on behalf of the empress to settle certain matters which had already been brought to the knowledge of the Pope.² The less

¹ *On March 3, 1783. Cf. Bernis to Vergennes, March 4, 1783, in MASSON, 367.

² *Benislawski to Potemkin (undated; after March 3, 1783): "Celui-ci [the Pope] me recevant avec la plus grande bonté se mit sur le champ à faire éloges de Sa Majesté Impériale; puis il me demanda sur le sujet de mon arrivée. Je lui répondis que c'est pour prier Votre Sainteté de faire ce que Sa Majesté ma Souveraine lui a écrit en deux de ses lettres. Eh bien! me dit-il, je n'ai rien contre vous; vous serez évêque; mais Mr Siestrzencewicz m'a fait une injure en faisant à mon insçu l'ouverture du noviciat aux Jésuites. A cela je lui dis que cette ouverture a été faite par ordre de S. M. Imp. S'il est ainsi, repartit le Pape, j'oublie mon injure; mais pour le Pallium, je ne sçaurois l'accorder avant que je reçoive une réponse à la lettre que j'ai écrite à S. Majesté l'Impératrice de toutes les Russies à cause de l'Évêché du rit Grec-uni à Polock. Enfin il me fit beaucoup de questions sur les Jésuites, sur leur Général, sur son élection, si elle est faite par un ordre exprès de S. M. Quand je lui eus répondu qu'ouy, il me dit: je n'en disconviens pas. Nous parlâmes ensemble près de deux heures..." In Jesuit possession, Russia, III., fasc. IV.

cordial manner in which Benislawski was received by the Pope at a subsequent audience was ascribed by him to the intervention of Bernis and Grimaldi, who had dispatched couriers to their Courts as soon as he had arrived in Rome. The Pope was unwilling to make a final decision until he had received a reply from the empress to his letter of January 11th. He also wanted a written assurance that Siestrzencewicz had not failed in his duty towards the Roman Curia. In answer to his numerous questions about the Jesuits the Provost informed him that the empress was protecting them and wanted to preserve them and that the Pope's confirmation of their existence would give her pleasure.¹ In accordance with the Pope's desire Benislawski drew up a memorandum containing three demands with their reasons: the *pallium* for Siestrzencewicz, the promotion to Coadjutor for himself, and the confirmation of the Society of Jesus, with the approbation of every step that had been taken by the Jesuits of White Russia at the express commands of the Czarina.² On March 12th the

¹ " *Sa Sainteté a souhaité que je l'assurasse par écrit, que Mr. Siestrzencewicz n'a aucunement manqué envers la Cour de Rome. Elle fit beaucoup de questions sur les Jésuites. Je lui dis que Sa Majesté Impériale les protège, les veut conserver et que le Saint Père lui feroit du plaisir, s'il les confirmoit. Je lui donnai par écrit ce qu'il exigeoit. Il ne doit me donner résolution qu'après qu'il a reçu réponse à Sa lettre écrite à Sa Majesté l'Impératrice, ce qui prolongera à ce que je vois contre toute mon attente le séjour que je fais ici." Benislawski to Potemkin, undated [March 1783], in Jesuit possession, Russia, III., fasc. IV. Cf. Pallavicini to Archetti, March 8 and 15, 1783, Nunziat. di Polonia, 49, *loc. cit.*; LORET, 311 *seqq.*; *Pallavicini to Doria, March 19, 1783, Nunziat. di Francia, 462A, *loc. cit.*; *Pallavicini to Garampi, March 22, 1783, Nunziat. di Vienna, 681, *ibid.* In parts these three dispatches are word for word the same.

² *Nunziat. di Polonia, 344 V, *ibid.* The document is annotated: "Copia della memoria lasciata dal Prevosto Benislawski a Sua Santità, ma con gran cautela e riserva." Printed in *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Sum. add. 137-145. "Tertium postulatum est, Beatissime Pater, approbatio factorum ex mandato expresse Augustissimae

Coadjutor-designate was granted still another audience, at which the Pope approved of the continued existence of the Jesuits and the election of the General by a thrice-uttered "*Approbo*".

Even by his contemporaries the result of Benislawski's mission was variously appraised. Whereas Pallavicini asserted that the Provost had gained nothing by his visit to Rome, he himself and his former fellow-religious maintained that he had gained everything, namely the recognition of the Society in Russia. On July 13/24th, 1785, at the second General Congregation at Polotsk, Benislawski delivered the written statement, with his episcopal seal and his own signature, that on March 1st/12th Pius VI. had confirmed the Society with a thrice-uttered "*Approbo*".¹ The Bishop's solemn declaration, however, is contradicted by the equally definite testimony of Pallavicini, that in spite of his threats Benislawski did not obtain the Pope's recognition of the Russian ex-Jesuits as genuine and legitimate Jesuits, as he erroneously supposed. If there was any talk of such a thing the nuncio was to deny it.² The Cardinal Secretary of State also tried to cast

Imperatricis a Iesuitis in Alba Russia, et eorum confirmatio a Sua Sanctitate, tamquam Vicario Christi, et Primo ac Supremo totius gregis catholici Pastore." *Ibid.*, 141.

¹ "Ex audientia SS^{mi} Dñi Nostri Pii PP. VI. habita A^o 1783 die 1/12 Mensis Martii . . . Quibus auditus SS^{mus} Dñs Noster, et statum illorum, et electionem Praepositi Generalis factam benigne confirmavit, repetitis ter vicibus dicendo: Approbo, approbo, approbo. De hoc vivae vocis oraculo fidem plenissimam facio, manumque meam et sigillum appono. Datt. Policiae, mensis Iulii die 13/24 A^o 1785. Ioannes Benislawski Episcopus Gadarensis Coadiutor Archi-Episcopatus Mohiloviensis Eques Ordinis S. Stanislai. mpp." Original with seal in Jesuit possession, Russia, I., fasc. VII. Frequently printed: *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Sum. add. 146; *Razón y Fe*, XXXIX. (1914), 219; *Przegląd Powszechny*, CX. (1911), 379, n. 1; *Institutum Societatis Iesu*, II. (1893), 452; RAVIGNAN, II., 461.

² "Nè è inverosimile, che per lo stesso canale [Antonelli] abbia Ella saputo altresì il grave sbaglio, che prese al bel principio [Benislawski], o mostrò di aver preso sul risultato della prima

doubts on the official character of the whole mission.¹ Archetti had described the Provost as a good cleric at the outset of his journey to Rome² but afterwards he found it more expedient to side with his superior. He represented the whole mission as a Jesuit intrigue and the future Bishop as an unbalanced individual who with his fanatical friendship for the Jesuits was incapable of distinguishing truth from falsehood.³ Possibly, however, the nuncio's opinion may have been

udienza, alla quale era stato ammesso dalla Santità Sua, la propria risoluzione che ne faceva discendere di partire all'istante in aria minacciosa, la frequenza de' di lui accessi al Pontefice, anche senza perchè; e l'ultroneo spargimento abbondante, ch'egli non ometteva di fare, con ben molti, di aver tutto ottenuto, compreso ciò, di che non v'era, anzi non vi è nemmeno per Lei occasione, o debito immediato di discorrere: ciò di che discorrendone, dispensarsi non potrà Ella di discorrere in contrario, a quel che il Benislawski supponeva di aver eseguito, vale a dire il Pontificio riconoscimento degli Exgesuiti dimoranti nell'Alba Russia, o in qualsivoglia altro luogo del Dominio Russo per Gesuiti veri e legittimi, quali eran prima della soppressione della Compagnia." Pallavicini to Archetti, April 26, 1783, Nunziat. di Polonia, 49, *loc. cit.*; LORET, 314; *Pallavicini to Garampi, May 28, 1783, Nunziat. di Germania, 681, *loc. cit.*

¹ *Pallavicini to Archetti, May 3, 1783, Nunziat. di Polonia, Add. XVII., *ibid.*; *Archetti to Pallavicini, April 9, 1783, *ibid.* 65; *Archetti to Antonelli, April 9 and May 7, 1783, *ibid.*, Add. XIX.

² " * . . il quale è buono Ecclesiastico et bonum opus desiderat." Archetti to Garampi, February 12, 1783, *ibid.*, 85.

³ " *non per altro motivo proseguì il suo viaggio, che per promuovere la 3^a istanza dello ristabilimento dei Gesuiti. Vorrei, che nonostante tutto il suo fanatismo, e quello che gli hanno ispirato i suoi antichi compagni, fosse restato convinto della impossibilità della cosa, e si fosse accorto, che egli deve attribuire il successo infelice della sua pretesa legazione alle false idee che hanno in capo gli Exgesuiti, ed alla propria imprudenza d'aver intrapresa una Missione di tanto strepito senza carattere." Archetti to Antonelli, May 7, 1783, Nunziat. di Polonia, Add. XIX., *ibid.* "Non mi meraviglio della condotta tenuta dal Benislawski, nè ci voleva meno, che il fanatismo de' Refrattari, e del partito loro

influenced by the fear that Benislawski's mission might diminish the importance of his own, to St. Petersburg.¹ According to the statements of Garampi and Galitzin there was no doubt about the official character of the Provost's mission.² Nor could there be any question about the fulfilment of his third request. The news that the Society in Russia had been confirmed quickly spread through the whole of Rome, that is the Rome of the diplomats and prelates. Even Pallavicini reported to Archetti that Benislawski was completely satisfied with the result of his visit and that the Pope had made him an unusually fine present.³ A similar assurance was made by

si accoppiano col genio, o coll' indole naturale di questi Setten-trionali per formare insieme un composto assai singolare. Questi popoli hanno delle buone qualità, ma se si mettono in testa qualche disegno, non sanno ancor distinguere la più grossolana impostura dalla più coperta, e più fina, e si servono costantemente dell' una come dell' altra." Archetti to Pallavicini, May 10, 1783, Nunziat. di Polonia, 65, *ibid.* Cf. **Id.* to *id.*, June 4, 1783, *ibid.*

¹ Cf. *Archetti to Garampi, February 12, 1783, *ibid.*

² Galitzin *reported to the Czarina on February 18/27: "The day before yesterday Benislawski delivered to me the imperial order about his commission. I presented him to Garampi, so that he might be fittingly received in Rome and that a hearing might be given to his proposals. Garampi gave him three letters of recommendation, to Pallavicini, Antonelli, and Borgia." (Russian) State Archives, Moscow, Foreign Office, III., Vienna, 1783, *Réception*. " *Ma non per questo però potrei credere, che la di lui spedizione fosse stata autorizzata meno dalla sua Sovrana . . ." Garampi to Archetti, May 5, 1783, Nunziat. di Polonia, Add. XIX., *loc. cit.*, and Germania, 422, *ibid.* " *Oggi il Principe Gallizin mi ha presentato l'Ab. Benislawski, che la sua Corte spedisce costà per procurarsi la conferma della Coadiutoria ch'ella gli destina a Mgr. Siestrzencewicz." Garampi to Pallavicini and Antonelli, January 27, 1783, Nunziat. di Germania, 410, *ibid.* In the same way later on Prince Yussupof was sent to the Court of Rome as " *chargé d'une commission spéciale auprès du Souverain du pays, mais nullement en qualité de ministre caractérisé." GAGARIN, *Un Nonce*, 238. Cf. below, p. 303, n. 3.

³ *Pallavicini to Archetti, April 12, 1783, Nunziat. di Polonia, 49, *ibid.*

the envoy on his return journey to Garampi, the nuncio to Vienna.¹ Both the Venetian envoy² and Bernis³ informed their Governments of the current rumour. The former had been told by the Provost at a reception that he had great hopes of obtaining extensive missionary faculties for the new

¹ “*Mi assicurò di essere soddisfattissimo delle direzioni prese dal S. Padre, e inoltre sensibile alle attenzioni, che ha ricevute per la propria persona. Questo stesso ha egli confermato al Principe Gallizin.” Garampi to Pallavicini, May 12, 1783, Nunziat. di Germania, 411, *ibid.*

² “*Ora tutte le osservazioni sono rivolte ad indagare, se il Pontefice sia, o no, per concedere l’approvazione del nuovo Vicario Generale dei Gesuiti, ed a riconoscere come legittimo il loro risorgimento.” Zulian to the Doge, March 15, 1783, State Archives, Venice, Ambasciatore Roma 298. “Nell’ ultima audienza poi, per quanto Msgre va spargendo, il Pontefice ha accolto un di lui progetto, ch’è di assicurare, in voce soltanto, la Imperatrice Czarina, che atteso l’impedimento all’ pubblicazione del Breve, che sopprimeva la Compagnia di Gesù, giudica innocenti quei Gesuiti, che avevano ne’ suoi Domini riassunto l’esercizio del loro Istituto.” *Id.* to *id.*, March 22, 1783, *ibid.* The Bourbon ambassadors “sospettano a questa ora il favore deciso della Santa Sede all’ rinascenza Compagnia di Gesù.” *Id.* to *id.*, March 29, 1783, *ibid.*

³ “J’ai appris que Catherine II. dans les instructions signées de sa main, qu’elle a réunies à l’Exjésuite Benislawski, le charge expressément de demander à son nom au Pape non seulement le Pallium pour l’évêque de Mallo et la nomination d’un coadjuteur, mais encore la reconnaissance formelle et l’approbation de l’existence des Jésuites en Russie, en outre les pouvoirs les plus étendus pour lesdits Jésuites employés dans le ministère ou dans les Missions, avec les mêmes facultés que les propres évêques. Benislawski a déjà osé faire ces demandes extraordinaires au Souverain Pontife . . . ; il est de soupçonner que la Congrégation de Propagande par quelque rescrit équivoque pourrait bien en termes ambigus accorder sur la demande de la Russie une espèce d’approbation tacite ou du moins de vraie tolérance.” Representations made by Grimaldi and Bernis to Pallavicini, with the threat of publishing the secret letters to their monarchs and thus exposing the Pope. Bernis to Vergennes, March 25, 1783. “Collezione di

Jesuits.¹ What was more important was the letter written by the former Polish Assistant Korycki to the new Vicar General Czerniewicz on April 13th, 1783. "Benislawski," he wrote, "has not only obtained the recognition of the Pope but also that of the Cardinals and prelates with whom he had to treat. In the opinion of the ex-Jesuits here he has gained everything that could be gained in the present unfavourable circumstances. More than once the Holy Father poured out his heart to him and expressed his deepest regret at the very grave harm that has come upon the Church in consequence of the ruin of our Society. He bemoaned the bondage in which he was held by certain Courts and he authorized the Coadjutor to ask the Czarina to prevail upon the King of France, who was not personally antagonistic, and through him upon the King of Spain, to desist from his obdurate opposition. It was for this reason that at the present juncture the Pope could not make any statement in writing in favour of the Society in White Russia, but at various audiences he has repeatedly praised by word of mouth (*'vivae vocis oraculo'*) its activity in the past and the present and he had even approved of them in the presence of the Coadjutor, as he himself will report to the empress and yourself. I feel indescribably happy about

documenti francesi sulla Compagnia (THEINER)." Papal Secret Archives. "Au reste le Card. Antonelli m'a promis de faire tout ce qu'il pourroit auprès du Pape pour le déterminer . . . à déclarer dans le consistoire, que le Bref de Clément XIV. subsiste dans toute sa force, afin de ne laisser rien d'équivoque ni de louche sur les sentiments du Saint-Père à cet égard. Cette Eminence ne m'a caché la difficulté d'amener le Pape à cette déclaration solennelle, surtout si l'Exjésuite Benislawski a des conférences fréquentes avec le Saint-Père, que la hardiesse de cet Exjésuite embarasse et éblouit. Le Card. Antonelli au surplus m'a assuré, que Sa Sainteté ne feroit rien ni n'accorderoit rien, dont les Exjésuites de Russie puissent se prévaloir avec fondement pour prouver [la] prétendue existence de leur Institut." *Id. to id.*, March 26, 1783, *ibid.*

¹ *Zulian to the Doge, April 5, 1783, State Archives, Venice, Ambasciatore Roma, 298.

this and I thank Providence with all my heart. Thanks be to the Lord that I was allowed to see the day when the name of Jesus shines with renewed splendour in one corner of my Province ! ”¹ A month later, in order completely to reassure the Vicar General and his subjects, Korycki sent him a brief canonical disquisition, by Vincenz Sanz, on the value of a verbal Papal decision.² As recently as the beginning of July Czerniewicz had ordered prayers to be said generally to avert the danger that seemed to be threatening the Society in consequence of the nuncio's journey to St. Petersburg but his mind was now entirely set at rest.³ In a circular letter to all his fellow-religious he announced the joyful news that the Vicar of Christ had thrice expressly approved of all that had been done until then to strengthen the Society of Jesus in White Russia.⁴

While Benislawski was still in Rome the Czarina's reply arrived there.⁵ To make the self-willed empress a little more inclined to receive a Papal legate, Stackelberg had resorted to

¹ *Korycki to Czerniewicz, April 13, 1783 (Polish), in Jesuit possession, Russia, III., fasc. III.

² *Korycki to Czerniewicz, May 14, 1783 (Polish), *ibid.*

³ *Czerniewicz to the Provincial Kareu, July 6, 1783, in Jesuit possession, Russia, Epist. Gen., I.

⁴ August 13, 1783, *ibid.*, Russia, I., fasc. VII. Several private letters and fragments of letters in the Society's archives contain the same news. Cf. GAGARIN, *Récit*, 92 seqq.; *ROZAVEN, 95 seqq.; *Gazeta Warszawska* of May 21, 1783, and supplement of August 13, 1785. GENDRY (*Pie VI.*, vol. I., 406-416) and LORET (*Kościół katolicki a Katarzyna II.*, 187 seqq.), relying on Pallavicini's and Archetti's one-sided reports, have queried the official character and result of Benislawski's mission. Loret's statements were contradicted by Joseph Sas, S.J., in the periodical *Przegląd Powszechny*, CX. (1911), 189 seqq., and CXI. (1911), 69 seqq. Loret's retort (*Kwartalnik Historyczny*, XXVI. [1912], 54-83; also published separately, 35 pp.) was dealt with by Sas in *Przegląd Powszechny*, CXV. (1912), 33 seqq.

⁵ *Pallavicini to Archetti, April 12, 1783, Nunziat. di Polonia, 49, *loc. cit.*; *Zulian to the Doge, April 12, 1783, State Archives, Venice, Ambasciatore, Roma, 298.

a diplomatic ruse. In the covering letter he forwarded with the Papal Brief he represented the legate's mission as one of reparation ; its ostensible purpose was the execution of the sovereign's wishes, its actual one was to beg pardon, in the Pope's name, of the injured sovereign and to make satisfaction. The diplomat discovered a striking resemblance between the government of the Empress of all the Russias and the glorious episodes of the reign of Louis XIV, eloquent evidence of the homage owed by the whole world of humanity, moderation, and tolerance to the royal philosopher. As the nuncio had given him to understand how fortunate he would count himself were his person to be not displeasing to the empress, he could not refrain from asking for his reception, especially as this prelate was doing his utmost in his reports to oppose the traditional fear felt by the Popes for the Catholic King and even in the question of the dissidents was maintaining a more moderate attitude than his predecessors.¹ Her vanity flattered, Catherine immediately replied that she would receive the legate with every honour, in testimony of the freedom enjoyed by the Catholics in her States and her esteem of the present Pope. Her concluding phrase, that all who worshipped the Almighty should be united, was clearly intended to have a favourable effect in Rome and, in fact, it did not fail to arouse considerable hopes in certain circles.²

Archetti, knowing full well how much his future career

¹ Stackelberg to Catherine II., January 22/February 2, 1783, State Archives, Moscow, Foreign Office, III., Warsaw, 1783, *Réception ; Sbornik*, I., 533, No. XLIH. ; LORET, 311.

² Catherine II. to Pius VI., March 1/12, 1783, Nunziat. di Polonia, Add. XIX. ; Stackelberg to Catherine II., March 13/24, 1783, State Archives, Moscow, Foreign Office, III., Warsaw, 1783, *Réception ; Sbornik*, I., No. XLIV. For Archetti's mission cf. GAGARIN, *Un Nonce du Pape à la cour de Catherine II. Mémoires d'Archetti*. Paris, 1872. (According to Gagarin [p. xviii] Archetti himself was the author of these memoirs ; PIERLING [V., 136, n. 2] ascribes them to Mgr. Tosi.) GENDRY, *Pie VI.*, vol. I., 423 *seqq.* ; PIERLING, V., 81 *seqq.* Further literature here.

depended on the successful issue of his mission and how seriously the inclusion of the Jesuit affair would endanger it, had endeavoured all along to show in his dispatches that the matter must be entirely excluded from his official instructions.¹ Now that his mission was about to take place he was indefatigable in arguing how wrong it would be to jeopardize the vital interests of the Catholic Church in Russia for the sake of this comparatively unimportant question. Rather than that he would prefer someone else to be sent to St. Petersburg. If he did achieve the impossible it would settle a troublesome affair, it was true, but it would involve the Church in Russia in the loss of her best and most skilful workers. A month after the publication of the Brief of suppression there would not be a Jesuit left on Russian soil, as it was only their fanaticism that made this country, this climate, and this government tolerable to them. The few secular priests that there were were badly instructed and the other religious had no prestige and were always longing to get back to Poland. The main point must be kept in view. Perhaps something could be done later in the secondary matter by working on the Jesuits' conscience.² To make some concession to Pallavicini's way of thinking the nuncio hinted that he was hoping to attain his object indirectly, by inducing the future Archbishop to deprive the Jesuits of their spiritual faculties.³ Archetti had his way, at least to some extent. Neither in his letter of credence nor in the official instructions from the Pope and the Prefect of the Propaganda was there a word about the Jesuits.⁴

¹ Cf. *Archetti to Antonelli, March 31, 1781, Nunziat. di Polonia, Add. XIX., Papal Secret Archives.

² *Archetti to Antonelli, May 7, 1783, *ibid.* Cf. also *Archetti to Antonelli, April 9 and May 10, 1783, *ibid.*

³ *Archetti to Pallavicini, April 9 and June 4, 1783, *ibid.*, 65.

⁴ *Pius VI. to Catherine II., April 26, 1783, *ibid.*, 338; *Sbornik*, I., 536, No. XLVII.; *Pius VI. to Archetti, April 23, 1783, authentic copy of the instruction, *Regolari, Gesuiti* 44, *loc. cit.*; GAGARIN, *Un Nonce*, 210 *seqq.* (April 15?); Antonelli's *instruction for Archetti [May 10, 1783], *Regolari, Gesuiti*, 44, *loc. cit.*

But Pallavicini, pressed by Bernis¹ and Grimaldi,² advised the legate, besides attending to his principal tasks, to work hard for the dissolution of the Jesuits in Russia. Apparently, he wrote, the Russian Ministers were divided on this point. Some wanted to preserve the Jesuit Institute unimpaired, others were in favour of the Brief of suppression being announced to the Jesuits and of their then being allowed to continue living in communities on the Prussian model. Archetti therefore was to obtain the Ministers' opinions and at a favourable opportunity to try to get the same procedure adopted as had been carried out in Silesia.³ Citing the ukase issued by the Senate on September 12th, 1782, by which the Jesuits were subordinated to the Archbishop of Mohilev, not only as their Ordinary but also as their General, he was to make them completely subject to episcopal jurisdiction. It was far more important to destroy the seed by which the Jesuits might spring up again than to maintain the privileges of the other religious.⁴ Thus, another danger was threatening. The Vicar General Czerniewicz, foreseeing it, appealed in good time to Prince Bezborodko, the Czarina's secretary, to secure for the future the exemption of the Jesuits from episcopal jurisdiction which they had enjoyed from their foundation, it always having been the empress's desire to keep the Institute unimpaired.⁵ Actually, the Vicar General had no cause for anxiety as Archetti had no intention

¹ *Bernis to Pallavicini, May 6, 1783, *ibid.*

² Pallavicini to Doria, May 7, 1783, Nunziat. di Francia, 462A, *loc. cit.*

³ *Pallavicini to Archetti, May 10, 1783, Nunziat. di Polonia, Add. XVII., *ibid.*

⁴ “ *Una sola cosa per suo regolamento gli si può suggerire ed è, che è meno male che i privilegi dei Regolari siano violati di quello sia di dare il più piccolo motivo a sottrarre gl'indocili Exgesuiti dalla giurisdizione dell' Ordinario. Questo solo colpo fiacca e distrugge uno dei principali cardini del loro Istituto, quale era l'indipendenza totale da ogni estranea potestà, e la soggezione pienissima alla despotica del loro Generale.” Instruction of May 10, 1783, Nunziat. di Polonia, Add. XIX., *ibid.*

⁵ June 2, 1783, in Jesuit possession, Russia, Epist. Gen., I.

of endangering the success of his mission and his future career by taking serious steps against the Jesuits.¹

When Archetti arrived at St. Petersburg on July 4th, 1783,² he found that neither Siestrzencewicz nor Benislawski, for whose sake he had come, were there to meet him. They did not arrive till the middle of September,³ and the all-powerful favourite, Potemkin, kept the legate waiting till the empress's birthday⁴—a little revenge, perhaps, for the Curia's delaying tactics. The legate, showing no sign of having come for any other reason than to bring the *pallium*, to nominate a Ruthenian Archbishop, and to consecrate Benislawski,⁵ made discreet inquiries of the Bourbon ambassadors regarding the state of the Jesuit affair. He was soon made to realize that no more unfavourable opportunity for action on his part could be imagined. According to the information he received from the Spanish *chargé d'affaires*, Azanza, the Czarina had just confirmed her approval of the Bishop's procedure. Convinced of the usefulness of the Jesuits for the education of youth, she was more determined than ever to encourage them. Prince Potemkin was quite openly their protector. Archetti, Azanza reported further, was relying on the dissension between the Jesuits and Siestrzencewicz and hoped to bring about the suppression with the latter's assistance. But Rome was not likely to endanger the success of its other plans for the sake

¹ Cf. *Archetti to Antonelli, May 10, 1783, Nunziat. di Polonia, Add. XIX. "No se atreve [Archetti] de entrar con vigor en esta empresa, porque juzga como imposible que esta Corte permita la publicación de la Bula, habiendose negado a ello tan obstinadamente hasta ahora." Azanza to Floridablanca, January 18, 1784, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6653.

² GENDRY, *Pie VI.*, I., 425.

³ *Archetti to Pallavicini, July 11 and 18, 1783, Nunziat. d. Polonia, 338, *loc. cit.*; GENDRY, I., 426, 431.

⁴ *Archetti to Pallavicini, November 24/December 6, 1783 *loc. cit.*

⁵ *Archetti to Antonelli, August 27 and December 7, 1783, Cifre, *ibid.*

of a handful of Jesuits. It would seek a way of satisfying the empress without annoying the Bourbons. Verac, the French ambassador, had been instructed not to meddle in Archetti's business and in the matter of the Jesuits to conform to the instructions of the Spanish representative.¹

If Pallavicini and Grimaldi had set any serious hopes on the success of Archetti's mission² they were soon to be disappointed. After carefully sounding the ground for two months he reported to the Cardinal Secretary of State that both Azanza and Vérac were convinced that it was impossible to obtain the publication of the Brief *Dominus ac Redemptor*; a formal request would be brusquely rejected. In any case, both men had their heads full of more important matters at the moment and the empress was not in the mood to do them a favour. The Spanish *chargé d'affaires* had to admit that the memorandum presented by his predecessor Normandez had done more harm than good. To his suggestion that the Jesuits were a danger to every Power the Czarina had retorted that she was able to keep her subjects and the Orthodox clergy under control, and still more so the other tolerated confessions. If the Catholic King's progenitors had not made the Jesuits proud and intriguing, his sovereign would have no fear now and would not be worrying on other people's account. The Portuguese envoy had confirmed this as a fact. In his farewell audience the empress had praised the Society of Jesus. White Russia, she had said, was the most fortunate province in her empire, as the youths there were brought up by the Jesuits. It seemed to the legate that the most influential members of the Cabinet viewed the matter with indifference,

¹ " *El asunto de los Jesuitas ofrecerá mas embarazas y dificultades. La Emperatriz se ha mostrado hasta ahora muy empenada en sostenerlos; están aqui generalmente persuadidos a que son muy útiles a la educación de la juventud." Azanza to Floridablanca, July 30, 1783, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6652.

² *Grimaldi to Pallavicini, September 10, 1783, Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Exped. 3 (1782-3); *Grimaldi to Floridablanca, September 11, 1783, *ibid.*

at any rate none of them dared to disillusion their sovereign.¹ No particular acumen was needed to see the object of these arguments. Almost at the same time as Archetti was writing his reports for the Curia, the Spanish Foreign Minister was instructing his Government's representative in St. Petersburg not to concern himself with the legate's chief commission or the Jesuit affair. With regard to the latter the king had made his views sufficiently known and he intended to deal only with the Roman Curia. He would regard any weakness in this question with great displeasure and if necessary he would protest in Rome.² Archetti's last hope was Siestrzencewicz. After his first few talks with him he assured Azanza that the prelate was now willing to play a serious part in executing the suppression. He could assure his Court that the Archbishop was more unfortunate than culpable, meaning thereby that the prelate had been forced by the Government to take the steps for which he had been blamed.³

The Papal legate let it be seen that it was not through lack of goodwill that he was failing to fulfil the wishes of Spain. In his conversation with Vice-Chancellor Ostermann and Potemkin he had touched on the Jesuit affair but in both cases he had clearly been rebuffed. Every time he brought the matter up the Vice-Chancellor refused on official grounds even to discuss it, as it was not among the agreed subjects for negotiation.⁴ Archetti was no more successful with

¹ " *Mr. d'Azanza, ed il Marchese de Verac riconoscono, che è impossibile ottenere la pubblicazione del Breve, e che, se facessi una formale istanza, sarebbe aspramente rigettata." Archetti to Pallavicini, August 27 and September 7, 1783, Cifre, Nunziat. di Polonia, 338, *loc. cit.*; GENDRY, *Pie VI.*, vol. I., 430 *seq.* *Archetti to Antonelli, September 7, 1783, Nunziat. di Polonia, *ibid.*

² *Floridablanca to Azanza, September 9, 1783, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 6652.

³ *Azanza to Floridablanca, September 19, 1783, Cifre, *ibid.*

⁴ *Archetti to Pallavicini, March 5 and 26, 1784, Nunziat. di Polonia, Add. XIX., *loc. cit.*; *Archetti to Antonelli, March 8, 1784, Carte sciolte, *ibid.*

Potemkin. On his proposing a solution on the Silesian model the Prince broke in on him to warn him not to spoil the effects of his mission, which hitherto had been successful. The empress would be most deeply offended by the proposal. She was aware of the accusations brought against the Jesuits; a repetition of them, however skilfully done, would only estrange her as she was firmly resolved not to speak of the matter again and not to let anyone else mention it to her, and she would be vastly surprised if anyone tried to stop her being mistress in her own house. He therefore honestly advised him to pass over this point in silence as this would be the best way of serving the interests of the Roman Court.¹ In his letter to Antonelli Archetti observed that it was hardly worth while making so much fuss about a few novices. Mutual dissatisfaction would soon follow. They must bide their time and for the moment have regard for the empress's caprice. He intended the contents of this letter and the one to Pallavicini to become known in Rome.² The legate, however, had scored one success against the Jesuits: he had stopped their being invited to work the Catholic parishes in St. Petersburg and Moscow,³ and in the decree by which he prolonged the Archbishop's powers in relation to the regular clergy he had had inserted the qualification that by "regular" was meant only those religious who were recognized as such by the Holy See. With this he thought that he had dealt the Society a nasty blow.⁴

¹ *Archetti to Pallavicini, March 26, 1784, *ibid.*; GAGARIN, *Un Nonce*, 231 *seqq.*; THEINER, *Clementis XIV. Epist.*, 383 *seqq.*;

*Azanza to Floridablanca, April 4, 1784, *loc. cit.*, Estado, 6653.

² *Archetti to Antonelli, March 26, 1784, Nunziat. di Polonia, Add. XIX, *loc. cit.*

³ *Archetti to Pallavicini, March 5, 1784, *ibid.*; *Archetti to Antonelli, March 8, 1784, Carte sciolte, *ibid.*; *Azanza to Floridablanca, April 4, 1784, Archives of Simaneas, Estado, 6653.

⁴ *Archetti to Pallavicini, January 23 and March 8, 1784, Nunziat. di Polonia, 338, *loc. cit.*; " *Decretum prorogationis facultatum super Regulares," of April 14, 1784, in Jesuit possession, Russia, I., fasc. X.; *Pallavicini to Archetti, April 17 and 24,

The extreme vexation of the Bourbons was increased by Joseph II.'s behaviour on his second visit to Rome. In the presence of the Pope and at a reception given by Princess Doria he openly disapproved of the suppression of the Society and declared that he was glad to employ its former members in useful offices.¹ Bernis now tried to maintain that he had foretold all along that this was how the business would end.² Every time Archetti had tried to open the subject of the Jesuits he was told to keep quiet. This, then, he remarked sardonically, was all that had come of the mission that had been staged with so much *éclat*. Eventually the Archbishop would be given the red hat for his improper restoration of the Jesuits.³ One thing was certain: Pius VI. would never ask Russia to publish the Brief of suppression, as he knew that this request would be in vain, and as Spain, too, was no longer displaying its former firmness the Pope was content to express his opinion without enforcing it, it being his constant care not to irritate unnecessarily a party which he thought he had to treat well on account of obligations he had incurred towards it in the past—a party he knew well enough to fear its vengeance. “Let us, therefore, rest content with things

1784, Nunziat. di Polonia, Add. XIX.; Bernis to Vergennes, April 28, 1784, Collezione Theiner, Papal Secret Archives.

¹ “*Ce monarque [Joseph II.] a affecté au Pape et en public, chez Madame la Princesse Doria, l'éloge des Jésuites, en blâmant tout haut la suppression de cette Société, dont il emploie, dit-il, bien volontiers les membres à des choses utiles.” Bernis to Vergennes, January 28, 1784, *ibid.*

² *Bernis to Vergennes, February 10, 1784, *ibid.*

³ *Bernis to Vergennes, March 10, 1784. It was, in fact, not long before the request was made for Siestrzencewicz to be promoted to cardinalitial rank. Cf. Catherine II. to Pius VI., November 7/18, 1784. The empress's instruction for Prince Yussupof, November 10/21, 1784; decree issued by the empress to Yussupof on February 25/March 9, 1785, in GAGARIN, *Un Nonce*, 236 *seqq.*; *Boncompagni to Archetti, January 21, 1786, Nunziat. di Polonia, Add. XX.; PIERLING, V., 159 *seqq.* Archetti had promised his assistance (*ibid.*, V., 158).

as they are," he concluded resignedly.¹ The French Foreign Minister, Vergennes, agreed. "Yes, we must rest content," he replied. "The publication of the Brief was not to be obtained. Had we presented a demand we should only have exposed ourselves to a rebuff and increased the prestige of the Jesuits. Let us leave things as they are during the Czarina's lifetime. Perhaps there will be a better prospect of success under her successor or under a future Pope."²

On the evening of June 13th, 1784, Archetti left St. Petersburg, poor in real successes, rich in presents and the promise of cardinalitial rank to be obtained by imperial favour.³ On hearing of the verbal recognition of the Society of Jesus by the supreme Head of the Church, many former Jesuits

¹ " * . . mais dans tous les cas il est très certain que Pie VI. n'exigera jamais de la Russie la publication du Bref de Clément XIV. Il sait bien que cette demande seroit inutile, et qu'elle le compromettrait sans aucun fruit avec le parti des Jésuites qu'il craint et qu'il ménage." Bernis to Vergennes, April 14, 1784, Collezione Theiner, *loc. cit.* "Je crois vous avoir déjà marqué que Mr. Archetti avoit fait inutilement aux ministres de la Russie quelques ouvertures relatives aux Jésuites, mais on lui avoit déclaré que l'Impératrice avoit pris son parti à cet égard, et qu'elle seroit fort surprise qu'on prétendit l'empêcher d'être maîtresse chez elle. Après une déclaration si formelle, ce Nonce n'étoit pas autorisé à insister plus fortement, mais il a su établir d'une manière claire quoique prudente dans le décret, dont le Card. Pallavicini vient de me communiquer la substance, que la Cour de Rome ne compte plus les Exjésuites de Russie parmi les Ordres réguliers, et qu'elle n'approuve point la nouvelle Institution que l'archevêque de Mohilew a prétendu leur donner. L'Espagne ayant cessé de montrer au Pape son ancienne fermeté sur tout ce qui a rapport à la Société éteinte, le Saint-Père s'est contenté de marquer son opinion sans y mettre la force nécessaire, ayant grand soin en toute occasion de ne pas irriter un parti, avec lequel il a eu autrefois des grandes liaisons, et qu'il connoît assés pour en craindre la vengeance. Contentons-nous . . ." Bernis to Vergennes, April 28, 1784, Collezione Theiner, *ibid.*

² *Vergennes to Bernis, May 25, 1784, *ibid.*

³ GENDRY, *Pie VI.*, vol. I., 443 ; PIERLING, V., 156 *seqq.*

hastened to seek readmission into the Society, which they had left only by compulsion and with a heavy heart. All were informed by the Vicar General that for the present it was not within his power to incorporate in the Society of Jesus with external legal validity ("in foro externo") anyone outside Russia ; but to all who sought it he and his successors gladly granted the admission that was valid in conscience ("in foro interno").¹ In their eagerness to belong to the Society externally many ex-Jesuits were more than willing to endure the rigorous climate but only a limited number of them could be accepted after Potemkin had expressed the wish (which after all was quite reasonable) that only those foreigners who were at the height of their vigour should be accepted ; elderly men, he held, would not readily learn the difficult language, which was necessary for their work.² Besides, the field of activity, with only 100,000 Latin Catholics, was too narrowly restricted.³ More than once the Russian Government held out hopes of some of the Fathers going as missionaries to China ⁴

¹ *Czerniewicz to John Howard, director of the academy at Louvain, October, 1783, Arch. Prov. Angliae ; *Czerniewicz to Franz Huberti, ex-Jesuit at Würzburg, February 18, 1784, in Jesuit possession, *Epist. Gen.*, I. ; *Czerniewicz to Laurence Kaulen in Lisbon, March 23, 1785, *ibid.* Cf. ZALENSKI-VIVIER, I., 466 seqq.

² *Czerniewicz to Kareu, January 5, 1784, in Jesuit possession, Russia, *Epist. Gen.*, I. ; *Czerniewicz to the ex-Jesuit Matthew Thein in Baden, March 7, 1785, *ibid.* ; *Czerniewicz to Andrea Avogadro in Verona, July 15, 1784, *ibid.*

³ In 1787 the roughly 100,000 Latin Catholics were served by 102 parish churches, 36 churches with, and 24 churches without the cure of souls (including 23 outside White Russia). The clergy, of every kind, consisted of 1 archbishop, 3 suffragans, 92 secular, and over 300 regular priests. "Succincta relatio de utroque clero, eiusdemque ecclesiis ritus Latini, quae sunt in toto Imperio Russico desumpta ex Ordinario Archidioecesis Mohiloviensis," 1787, in Jesuit possession, Russia, III., fasc. XI.

⁴ *Governor-General Passek to Czerniewicz, April 5/16, 1785, *ibid.*, Russia, *Epist. Gen.*, I. ; *Czerniewicz to Rector Mangold

but after several false starts the project was abandoned. After holding office for not quite three years the Vicar General Czerniewicz, still an active man, died on July 7/18th, 1785, at the age of fifty-seven, at Stayki, near Polotsk.¹

After his death, Siestrzencewicz, who had never ceased from making trouble,² again tried to force himself on the Jesuits as their General³ but by an imperial ukase of July 23rd (old style), which had been sought by the Jesuits staying in St. Petersburg on account of the mission to China, they were permitted to have a free election in accordance with the laws and spirit of their Institute.⁴ On September 27th, 1785, the former Assistant Gabriel Lenkiewicz was elected Vicar General at the first ballot.⁵ On being apprised of the result Catherine gave her approval.⁶

in Augsburg, June 17, 1785, *ibid.*; the Vicar General's *instruction for the Fathers destined for the mission to China [1785], *ibid.*, Russia, III., fasc. X.

¹ "Elogium Adm. Rev. P. N. Stanislai Czerniewicz Vicarii Generalis S.J.," in the *Arch. Prov. Galiciae*, III., Vitae PP. et FF.S.J. def. in Alba Russia"; *Gazeta Warszawska*, August 13, 1785, and supplement.

² "Ante omnia necesse esset, persuasum facere [Principem Potemkin], Iesuitas in Alba Russia praepotenti licet Imperatoria protectione fultos, debere omnino aliquando succumbere machinis adhibitibus ab Archiepiscopo, nisi efficaciter a Sua Maiestate impeditus fuerit atque coercitus." Instruction for the missionaries to China, *loc. cit.*

³ Benislowski to Potemkin, July 13/24, 1785, in Jesuit possession, Russia, *Epist. Gen.*, I.

⁴ *Fr. Kolumban Pfeiffer to the ex-Assistant Rhomberg, Polotsk, October 2/13, 1785, *ibid.*, Russia, III., fasc. VII.

⁵ *Ibid. Institutum Soc. Iesu*, II., 453 *seqq.*; *Nuncio Saluzzo to the Secretary of State Boncompagni, October 5 and November 23, 1785, Nunziat. di Polonia, 66, *loc. cit.*; *Gazeta Warszawska*, November 2, 1785.

⁶ By ukase of December 18, 1785, supplement to the *Gazeta Warszawska* of February 4, 1786, French translation in *Merkwürdige Nachrichten von den Jesuiten in Weissreussen*, 372 *seq.*; *Lenkiewicz to Passek, January 5, 1786, in Jesuit possession,

The membership of the Society of Jesus, which between the years 1773 and 1779 had sunk to 115, gradually began to rise again as the result of the noviciate. In 1784-85, according to the official list, there were 172 members, 95 of whom were priests.¹ Among those who hastened to Russia to rejoin the colours of Loyola were several Germans, not a few of them coming from the Salvator College at Augsburg, which was conducted by ex-Jesuits.² The gradual growth of their membership aroused in the Jesuits the desire to extend the field of their pastoral activity. A slight ray of hope appeared in 1792 when Archbishop Siestrzencewicz asked the nuncio Saluzzo for four priests for the German colonies in the Government of Saratov on the Volga. Until then all the efforts of the nuncio to obtain priests for the Germans had been fruitless; few knew the German language well enough to preach in it, no priest and no Order offered their services,³ and no one dared to ask the Jesuits for their help. It was not, however, till 1803 that the Vicar General Gruber was able to send the Bavarian Aloys Landes with eight other Fathers to the German settlers on the Volga.⁴ In 1798 the door to China seemed to be opening again. Twice Fr. Gruber hurried to St. Petersburg to receive the necessary instructions and to prepare the expedition⁵ but the political jealousy between

Epist. Gen., I.; *Lenkiewicz to Siestrzencewicz, January 15, 1786, *ibid.*

¹ GAGARIN, *Récit*, 184; *Magnani to Romei, April 15/26, 1786, *ibid.*, Russia, I., fasc. IX.

² *Lenkiewicz to Rector Mangold, June 30 and July 30, 1786, September 25, 1788, *ibid.*, *Epist. Gen.*, I. They included the well-known Jesuit missionary Alois Moritz; *Lenkiewicz to Mangold, July 30, 1786, *loc. cit.*; HUONDER, *Deutsche Jesuitenmissionäre*, 191 *seq.*; *Stimmen der Zeit*, CXXI. (1931), 176 *seqq.*

³ *Saluzzo to Antonelli, July 11, 1792, *Nunziat. di Polonia*, 78, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Cf. *Die katholischen Missionen*, 1880, 115 *seqq.*; *Augsburger Postzeitung*, 1904, Nos. 25 *seqq.*, supplement; A. ZOTTMANN, *Franz X. v. Zottmann, Bischof der Diözese Tiraspol*, Munich, 1904.

⁵ *Lenkiewicz to Governor-General Passek, May 8 and 18, 1792, in Jesuit possession, Russia, *Epist. Gen.*, I.

England and Russia killed the enterprise at birth, and their old patrons Czerniszew and Potemkin, who on previous such occasions had represented the Society's interests at Court, were no longer alive.¹

It was not long before the Jesuits were made to feel the loss of their old protectors. While they were quietly at work in their schools and churches another storm blew up. Through the second and third partitions of Poland parts of the same diocese had fallen to different rulers, which rendered administration very difficult. A reorganization seemed to be urgently necessary. To put the ecclesiastical situation in order Pius VI. was thinking of sending a legate to St. Petersburg in the person of Litta, the nuncio to Warsaw.² In the interests of the Church the Pope would even have been willing to put aside all his misgivings and satisfy the empress's desire by presenting Siestrzencewicz with the Cardinal's hat he so eagerly desired.³ The empress's death on November 17th, 1796, put an end to these plans for the time being. And then the solemn coronation of Paul I. offered a favourable opportunity of putting Litta's mission into effect. As before, the Archbishop thought of realizing his ambitious plans at the expense of the Society of Jesus. The main supports of the Society were no longer on the scene. Once he had succeeded in winning over the new ruler in favour of the suppression the greatest obstacle in the way of his promotion would have been removed. The General of the Society received the instruction

¹ *Lenkiewicz to Rhomberg, August 2, 1793, *ibid.*, Russia, III., fasc. II. Immediately after Czerniszew's death (1784) there appeared a lampoon against the Jesuits, in which the old accusations were repeated. It was suppressed at the order of the Empress. Her autograph note (in Russian, undated) in the *Bibliothèque Russe* in Paris. Cf. MOROCHKIN, *Die Jesuiten in Russland seit Katharina II.*, I., 218; *Merkwürdige Nachrichten von den Jesuiten in Weissreussen*, 365.

² *Zelada to Litta, May 28, 1796, Nunziat. di Polonia, 54, CC., *loc. cit.*; *Pius VI. to Catherine II., June 29, 1796, *ibid.* For Litta's mission, cf. PIERLING, V., 202 *seqq.*

³ *Ibid.*

not to send a deputation to render homage to the emperor at the coronation ceremony.¹ In his dealings with the Jesuits Siestrzencewicz allowed them to surmise that their existence was being threatened by the legate, with the result that they asked him to speak on their behalf;² meanwhile, he was endeavouring to persuade the Ministers to subject them to his immediate jurisdiction. An opportunity of bringing this about was afforded by the death of the Vicar General Lenkiewicz on November 10th, 1798. As the stringent police regulations and the latent hostility of the Archbishop called for caution on their part, the Jesuits decided to apply for powers from the emperor as well as from the Archbishop, as in 1785. When the provisional Vicar General Kareu applied to the Archbishop for permission to hold a General Congregation for the purpose of an election³ he received a message on December 3rd/14th from the archiepiscopal chancery ordering the amalgamation of the office of General with that of Provincial, who thenceforward was to be appointed by the diocesan Bishops.⁴ Fortunately the Jesuits had simultaneously put their request directly to the emperor,⁵ who gave them the required permission on December 7/18th.⁶ In forwarding this permission, however, the bench of justices enclosed a copy of the episcopal order. There was a clear contradiction between the two documents, the one sanctioning the election of a Vicar General, the other abolishing the Generalship. The favourable decision was adhered to and the Congregation was

¹ *Lenkiewicz to Moritz, January 14, 1797, in Jesuit possession, Russia, *Epist. Gen.*, I. ; *Lenkiewicz to Archielowicz, January 26, 1797, *ibid.*

² *Lenkiewicz to Siestrzencewicz, February 23, 1797, *ibid.*

³ November 14, 1798, in Jesuit possession, Russia, *Epist. Gen.*, II.

⁴ *Kareu to Siestrzencewicz, December 16, 1798, *ibid.*, Russia, *Epist. Gen.*, II. ; *Institutum Soc. Iesu*, II., 456.

⁵ *Kareu to Paul I., November 14, 1798, *ibid.*

⁶ Kareu's *circular letter to the Superiors, of December 18, 1798, *ibid.* ; *Kareu to Bishop Odyniec, undated [end of January, 1799], *ibid.*

fixed to start on January 27th.¹ On February 1st, 1799, Kareu was elected Vicar General and the Congregation wrote to the Archbishop asking him to leave the Institute of the Society undisturbed.² In addition it sent the Assistant Gruber to St. Petersburg to obtain by direct negotiation from Paul I. the preservation of the Society's constitutions. Returning on June 23rd, 1799, he brought back the joyful news that the emperor's will was that the constitutions should remain unchanged.³ This secured the Society's existence in Russia, at any rate for the time being.

(3)

When writing his memoirs in 1778 Cordara gave it as his firm conviction that sooner or later the Society of Jesus would rise again from its ashes, as its restoration would be to the equal advantage of the Church and the State.⁴ Efforts to set the Society on its feet again or at any rate to keep it alive in some form or other did, in fact, begin, as a French historian pointedly remarks, on the very morrow of the publication of the Brief of suppression.⁵ In Germany it was the Prince of Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst who was especially active in warding off the fatal blow at the very last moment.⁶ In France Madame

¹ *Circular letter of December 29, 1798, *ibid.*

² *Nunziat. di Polonia, 344, V., *loc. cit.*; *Institutum Soc. Iesu*, II., 457.

³ *Ibid.*, 458. Cf. for these events, *ROZAVEN, 149 *seqq.*; ZALENSKI-VIVIER, II., 65 *seqq.*

⁴ "Ego sane restituendam aliquando Societatem spero. Hanc mihi voluptatem frustra inuideant malevoli, nemo, licet potentissimus, unquam eximat. Non spero tamen ob aniles illas, quae circumferuntur, praedictionum fabulas, sed quia interesse puto reipublicae, ut Societas in statum pristinum restituatur, atque iterum in Ecclesia floreat." CORDARA, *De suppressione*, 180.

⁵ MASSON, *Bernis*, 241.

⁶ DUHR, *Ungedruckte Briefe und Relationen über die Aufhebung der Gesellschaft Jesu in Deutschland*, in *Histor. Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft*, VI. (1885), 413-437; F. A. SINNACHER,

Louise, Louis XV.'s daughter, who had become a Carmelite in 1771, used every influence she had to bring the French members of the extinguished Society together in the form of a Congregation of secular priests. The king's attitude towards the project was favourable, and there was a considerable number of adherents to the Jesuit cause among the higher ranks of the clergy.¹ A word coming from such high quarters would certainly have had great weight with Clement XIV. but the Foreign Minister Aiguillon and Cardinal Bernis quietly but effectively opposed the scheme. In her foreign policy France was too dependent on the help of Spain, which regarded the suppression as peculiarly its own work.² The first result

Beyträge zur Gesch. der bischöfl. Kirche Säben und Brixen in Tirol, IX., 2, Brixen, 1835, 684 seq.; DIENDORFER, *Die Aufhebung des Jesuitenordens im Bistum Passau* (1891), 7 seqq.

¹ Cf. our account, vol. XXXVIII., 338 seqq. “*Tra le altre cose, che penso di dire al sudetto Sig^r Duca, farò risaltare, che il Santo Padre in ogni incontro ha favorito e favorisce le istanze di questa Corte; che i Vescovi e gli aderenti dei Gesuiti per ripicco del Breve di soppressione, per la quale pretendevano di esser avanti consultati, tentano tutte le strade per apportar danno all Santa Sede; che la soppressione essendosi voluta dalle Corti Borboniche, non deve essere di disturbo al Santo Padre; che, sì il Clero e i Vescovi venissero a causa, si rinnoverebbero le antiche dispute con pregiudizio della religione.” Doria to Pallavicini, April 25, 1774, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, 561, Papal Secret Archives. Lebzelter *reported that the new Portuguese ambassador had postponed his departure for Vienna for a week. “The Portuguese Court claims to be in possession of information that a strong party supporting the former Jesuits is being formed under the leadership of some French Bishops, Cardinal Migazzi, and a Count Pichler. The alleged object of this party is to use every means, in an underhand way, to induce our supreme Court and the French one to allow the Jesuits to live in community until the times are more favourable to them. This, in the course of time, might have the most important consequences.” Report by Prince Kaunitz to Maria Theresä, July 23, 1774, State Archives, Vienna, *Staatsratsvorträge*, 173 (1774), VII.

² “*En el Breve de extinción de la Compañía habra visto

of the combined efforts of the two statesmen was the postponement of the royal decree allowing the unconditional return of the Jesuits. They then obtained from the Pope the statement that he adhered to the ordinances of the Brief *Dominus ac Redemptor* as firmly as ever ¹ and that he expected the French hierarchy to obey him in this as they would their king in similar cases. All further negotiations were terminated by the death of Louis XV. (May 10th, 1774).²

The Jesuits and their admirers had great hopes of benefiting from the election of Pius VI., who had always shown himself favourably inclined towards them. He did not disappoint them. Some of those who were distinguished for their literary or scientific knowledge he employed in his own service, and whenever he could show them a favour without having to fear the opposition of the Bourbons, he gladly did so, in his natural, kind-hearted way.³ He was prevented from going any further

V.S. lo que el Rey se ha interesado en ella, de modo que la podemos llamar obra suya." Grimaldi to Onnis, October 18, 1773, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5043.

¹ *Doria to Pallavicini, March 21, 1774, Cifre, Nunziat. di Francia, *loc. cit.* Cf. also the *letter of February 14, 1774, *ibid.*

² MASSON, *Bernis*, 240-266.

³ " *Il y a déjà quelque temps, Monsieur, que la bruit du rétablissement des Jésuites sous une forme différente s'est répandu à Rome, et de là a gagné presque toute l'Europe. Quelques adoucissements procurés aux prisonniers détenus au Château St-Ange, quelque acte de charité ou de justice exercée à leur égard ont épouvanté leurs adversaires et ont rempli d'espérance et de confiance leurs adhérents et leurs protecteurs. On ne peut nier qu'un grand nombre des Cardinaux n'ayent fortement insisté auprès du Pape pour donner la liberté aux prisonniers, et pour employer un grand nombre de leurs confrères à l'enseignement de la jeunesse, aux fonctions du ministère, en un mot, à les rendre utiles à la société . . ." The Pope had informed Moñino of everything . . . " Le Ministre d'Espagne a promis au Pape de lui communiquer ses réflexions, dont on [dans un] écrit confidentiel, après quoy s'il ne reste que des soupçons contre les prisonniers du Château St-Ange, le Pape s'occupera du soin de concerter les

in this direction by the delicate situation in which the Holy See was placed by the jealous or inimical attitude of most of the Catholic countries.¹

The Jesuit question remained dormant for several years until the flames of the French Revolution sprang up on the European horizon and illumined with a lurid glow the chasm into which human society was threatening to fall. Many now sensed that what was needed more than anything for a

précautions, sous lesquelles la liberté leur soit rendue et l'on communiquera toute cette négociation. Tel est le plan, dont le Pape s'entretint avec moy hier matin et dont j'ay rendu compte au ministre espagnol. Il ne convient à aucun Souverain de priver éternellement des hommes et des ecclésiastiques de la liberté pour des soupçons, mais il est bon que l'ancien Général des Jésuites soit astreint à certaines règles de conduite, pour ne pas favoriser la désobéissance de ses confrères d'Allemagne, de Silésie et de Pologne . . . Mais le St. Père croit qu'il luy sera permis, sans se rendre suspect, de traiter les Exjésuites avec charité, justice et prudence." Bernis to Vergennes, May 31, 1775, Collezione Theiner, Papal Secret Archives.

¹ " *Au reste le St. Père m'a renouvelé les assurances, qu'il m'a si souvent données, ainsi qu'au comte de Floride Blanche, qu'il ne se presteroit jamais sous aucune forme au rétablissement de la Société éteinte ; il le juge impossible et il est trop éclairé pour ne pas sentir qu'il n'en résulteroit que du trouble et un désordre universel dans le monde Catholique, sans compter les ressentiments de plusieurs Cours, auxquels le Pape, en se prestant à ce projet insensé, exposerait le St-Siège . . . La seule chose qu'on pourroit craindre, ce seroit les conseils passionnés de quelques Cardinaux, auxquels le Pape a de grandes obligations et qu'il croit devoir ménager ; mais le St.-Père, quelque sensible qu'il puisse estre au sort des Exjésuites, quelque déférence qu'il ait pour plusieurs de leurs protecteurs, conçoit très bien qu'il se feroit des affaires sérieuses avec les Cours, s'il laissoit d'agir avec prudence. D'ailleurs les ministres ont les yeux ouverts." *Ibid.* Austria had also voiced its opposition to the restoration, in the interests of public order. *Instruction for Migazzi with regard to the conclave, of October 20, 1774, State Archives, Vienna, *Staatsratsvorträge*, 174 (1774), X.

counter-revolution was popular teachers and instructors ¹ and that the religious and ecclesiastical restoration must take its rise where the anti-Christian forces had begun their work of destruction.²

This idea first took shape in the Austrian Netherlands, where Joseph II.'s attacks on the Belgian Church had inflicted serious wounds. With the passage of time the absence of the Jesuits was felt more and more sorely. Every day the Bishops and the people regretted more and more that the Jesuits were no longer there to preach and write against the innovations. In 1787 the Estates of Brabant informed the Government that all the Bishops of the Belgian Provinces wanted the ex-Jesuits to be allowed to return to their pastoral work and thus to benefit the State. The failure of the educational reform showed with unmistakable clarity the great gap created by their suppression. The idea that only the Fathers could set up good colleges was more than ever confirmed. Even zealous partisans of Joseph II. were of the opinion that the greatest service one could render the coming generation in the way of education would be the restoration of the Jesuits. After the outbreak of the revolution in the Low Countries the party of liberation, regarding the ex-Jesuits as companions in distress, was anxious to fall in with popular feeling. The ex-Jesuit Feller, who with his former fellow-religious Brosius had led a vigorous campaign of propaganda against the emperor's innovations, and for this reason had been banished, was allowed to return to the country; the Dutch missions were granted a yearly subsidy, which they had sought in vain under the Austrian supremacy; and Fr. Klugman was appointed chaplain to the Belgian troops. In 1790 Villegas, the Chancellor of the Exchequer of Brabant, by arrangement with the Archbishop, laid a memorial concerning the restoration of the Jesuits before the States General, but the temporary

¹ KOSCH, *Das katholische Deutschland seit Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts*, "Der Aar," III., 1, 336 seq.

² HERGENRÖTHER-KIRSCH, IV⁶., 360.

restoration of the Austrian rule prevented the realization of the plan.¹

Of more importance was the movement to restore the Society of Jesus in Poland. In several provincial diets a resolution was passed whereby the deputies were to introduce a motion at the national diet in favour of the restoration of the Jesuits, who by their teaching activity would stem the advances of free thought and the unlicensed immorality of the young.² To blunt the edge of any opposition to the plan the Polish ex-Jesuits offered to resume their work in the churches and schools without reclaiming the endowments of the colleges or any stipends, relying solely on Providence and the charity of their fellow-citizens.³ In conjunction with the Spanish ambassador the nuncio Saluzzo did his utmost to suppress the

¹ BONENFANT, *La suppression de la Compagnie de Jésus dans les Pays-Bas autrichiens* (1925), 169 *seqq.*

² " *ID moltissime istruzioni son incaricati i Nunci [deputies] di dimandare il ritorno dei Gesuiti ; ho l' onore d' accludere l' articolo dell' intrusione della Dietina di Varsavia, a cui somigliano le altre tutte, unitamente al progetto presentato dagli stessi Exgesuiti alla Dieta." Saluzzo to Zelada [November 24, 1790], Nunziat. di Polonia, 67, Papal Secret Archives ; **id.* to *id.*, September 12, 1791, *ibid.* Cf. ZALENSKI-VIVIER, I., 129-147 ; GENDRY, *Pie VI.*, vol. I., 397 *seqq.* Every Catholic country was feeling the serious losses among the teachers caused by the suppression of the Society of Jesus. " Il est certain que, depuis l'expulsion, les collèges sont dans un état déplorable ; que tout le monde reconnaît l'impossibilité de les soutenir sans de nouveaux moyens ; que l'administration de l'enseignement par les parlementaires a donné les plus piteux résultats. On n'a nul besoin d'être partisan des Jésuites pour se plaindre de la direction donnée aux enfants." MASSON, *Bernis*, 257. Cf. Aiguillon to Bernis, February 12, 1774, *ibid.* For Belgium, cf. BONENFANT, 164 *seq.*

³ " *Offre faite à la République par les Exjésuites en l'année 1790 de leurs personnes " (translation), Nunziat. di Polonia, 25, Papal Secret Archives. Polish text in the supplement of the *Gazeta Warszawska* of November 10, 1790. *Fr. Messerati to an unknown correspondent on December 1, 1790, in Jesuit possession, Russia, III., fasc. II.

movement.¹ When in the session of the diet of July 16th, 1791, the Castellan Lipski moved the reintroduction of the Society into the territory of the Republic, after the Papal sanction had been obtained, he was opposed by the king in a cleverly constructed speech which appealed exclusively to the peculiarities of the Polish temperament. He would yield to no Pole, he said, in affection and respect for the Jesuits, and no one deplored more than he the severe loss incurred by the State as a result of their suppression. But he would also allow no one to surpass him in his love of the Church and devotion to its Head. The restoration of the Society would greatly embarrass the Holy See in its relations with the States which had demanded its suppression and it would thus disturb the peace and unity of Christendom. As a good Catholic and a faithful son of the Church he could not burden his conscience with such results as these. On his motion the diet then proceeded to the order of the day.² Rome thought that with this the matter was settled once for all,³ but it was not so easily disposed of. Shortly afterwards the Jesuit supporters tried to enlist the support of the Empress Catherine of Russia⁴ and then they thought of sending a deputation to Rome under the leadership of Bishop Kossakowski of Vilna, to obtain the Pope's agreement.⁵ But owing to the political disturbances caused by the second partition of Poland the plan failed to mature.⁶

¹ *Saluzzo to Zelada [November 24, 1790], *loc. cit.*; *Zelada to Saluzzo, February 5, 1791, *Nunziat. di Polonia*, 53, Papal Secret Archives.

² *Saluzzo to Zelada [June 18, 1791], *ibid.* 67; *Gazeta Narodowa y Obča*, No. 49, of June 18, 1791; " *Responsum Regiae Maiestatis Poloniarum in Comitibus Regni," *Nunziat. di Polonia*, 25, *loc. cit.*

³ *Zelada to Saluzzo, July 9 and 30, 1791, *ibid.*, 53.

⁴ *Saluzzo to Zelada, September 12 and November 14, 1791, *ibid.*, 67.

⁵ *Saluzzo to Zelada, September 15, October 6, and [November 12], 1791, *ibid.*

⁶ Cf. *Zelada to Saluzzo, September 17 and 24, 1791, April 7, October 6, December 8 and 15, 1792, *ibid.*, 53.

The more violently the waves of the French Revolution beat against the frontiers of the old German Empire the louder and more frequent were the voices that were raised there, demanding the restoration of the Society of Jesus as a rampart against the threatening upheaval. They came chiefly from those classes which were in a position to realize in alarm the confusion of ideas and morals among the younger members of the population caused by the growing "enlightenment" and free thought. In the Austrian Empire the Swiss ex-Jesuit Albert von Diessbach, zealous for the cure of souls, was prominent in this respect. In 1790, with apostolic courage, he addressed to the newly-crowned emperor, Leopold I., a memorial setting forth all the infirmities in the Church and the State brought about by the unhappy reforms of the late Government, and proposing, among other remedies, the restoration of the Jesuits.¹ At the same time the demand for the return of the Jesuits was heard in Tirol,² and the next year the same request was made in an anonymous pamphlet in Bavaria.³ More and more the Catholics were filled with the desire to counter the revolutionary propaganda by means of the Jesuits with their emphasis on the principle of authority. In reporting to the Holy See on October 28th, 1793, Cardinal Archbishop Frankenberg of Malines asked for the restoration of the Society of Jesus and its colleges to check the steady decrease in vocations.⁴ In December of the same year Cardinal

¹ **Historia Soc. Jesu*, 226, fol. 66-87, in Jesuit possession. PFÜLF, *Die Anfänge der deutschen Provinz der neu erstandenen Gesellschaft Jesu*, Freiburg, 1922, 7 seqq.

² "Proposal of a citizen of Innsbruck that the Society of Jesus be brought back" (probably written by Franz v. Zallinger at the time of the public provincial diet of 1790), MS., 76 sheets; Innsbruck, Ferdinandeum, Dipaul., 978, XII.

³ "A writing concerned with the Jesuit Order, which was made over to the Town Council of Munich by the deputy of Rosenheim, 1791." Chief State Archives, Munich, Jes. in genere, 699; *Cherambault to an unnamed correspondent, November 2, 1791, Secret State Archives, Munich, Kasten blau 427/4; *reply to Cherambault, November 13, 1791, *ibid*.

⁴ BONENFANT, 171

Migazzi of Vienna took the lead in asking Emperor Francis II. for the restoration of the suppressed Society. "The restoration of the Society of Jesus," he wrote, "seems to me to be the best and most effective way" of checking the increasing decay of religion and morality.¹ To heighten the effect of his representations he appealed to the Belgian hierarchy for their support. They signified their agreement with the utmost readiness and were joined therein by Metternich, the Minister Plenipotentiary.² Like Migazzi in the Austrian hereditary States, Minister Duminique of the Electorate of Trier tried to propagate the idea of restoring the Society of Jesus among the ecclesiastical Estates of the Empire. It met with scant sympathy from the Elector Maximilian of Königseck, to whom he had appealed³; his answer showed how deep were the prejudices that had taken root in many minds.⁴ Duminique had perhaps been moved to take this step by the hope that the imperial Court of Vienna would be more likely to listen to his proposal if it were supported by the archducal Elector. But in this quarter, for the time being, the question aroused no interest. Trautmannsdorf, when asked to use his influence with the emperor in support of the plan, promised to co-operate but could not pretend that there was much hope of success for the moment.⁵ Undaunted by this setback, Duminique a year later addressed a memorandum to Francis II. by the favour of Count Lehrbach.⁶ In this document, after

¹ *Ibid.*, 172; *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XXXVIII. (1890), 487 *seqq.*

² BONENFANT, 172.

³ On November 27, 1773. VOGT and WEITZEL, *Rheinisches Archiv für Geschichte und Literatur*, X. (Wiesbaden, 1813), 256 *seq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 257 *seqq.* As the old stories about the Jesuit assassinations had been brought up again in the Elector's reply, Duminique considered himself bound to refute them in a serious and effective manner. This was on December 3, 1793. *Ibid.*, 263 *seqq.*

⁵ BONENFANT, 172.

⁶ Lehrbach had belonged to the suppressed Society. SCHWIND, *Damian Hugo Philipp Graf von und zu Lehrbach* (extract from the *Rheinisches Volksblatt*, 1915), Speyer, 1915.

expounding the abuses that were prevalent, he asked the emperor to support the intentions of the Elector of Trier and other princes of the empire or at least to state that he would not oppose these aims.¹ Also about this time the nuncio Della Genga, fleeing from Cologne before the French, addressed from Augsburg a petition to Pius VI., with the object of inducing him to give ear to the wishes of Klemens Wenzeslaus.² The nuncio also made inquiries as to how the question was viewed by Karl Theodor of Bavaria and Zoglio, the nuncio to Munich.³ But the Cabinets were so much occupied by the military events of the time and by the second and third partitions of Poland that they had no leisure to spare for the Jesuit affair.

A temporary revival of Loyola's institution took place in a little State where it was least to be expected: the Duchy of Parma.⁴ The expulsion of the Jesuits had been decreed in 1768 by Duke Ferdinand, orphaned at an early age and still almost a boy, a helpless tool in the hands of his Minister, Du Tillot.⁵ As the Minister became more and more unpopular the young ruler's liking for the Jesuits increased, even before the Society was officially dissolved.⁶ In view of the great load of debt under which Parma was groaning, Ferdinand conceived the idea as early as 1787 of entrusting the schools in his dominions to the ex-Jesuits resident in the country, who in any case were drawing a pension. The plan, however, failed to fructify owing to the obdurate opposition of Charles III.,

¹ **Aide-mémoire* from Duminique, Minister of the Electorate of Trier, to Count von Lehrbach, the imperially authorized envoy. Augsburg, November 5, 1794, Ordinariatsarchiv, Augsburg, K 89.

² On November 9, 1794; [BOERO], *Osservazioni*, II², 263 seq.

³ " *Responsum ad duas quaestiones ab Ill^{mo} D.D. Nuntio Apostolico de[lla] Gengtia (!) mihi propositas," Dompfarrarchiv, Speyer, 3. Briefe von Jesuiten an Grafen Lehrbach.

⁴ *ROZAVEN, 127 seqq.; NONELL, *Pignatelli*, II., 187 seqq.; ZALENSKI-VIVIER, II., 46 seqq.

⁵ See our account, vol. XXXVII., 249 seqq.

⁶ *Louis XV. to Ferdinand I. of Parma, February 2, 1772, Private Ducal Archives, Colorno, "Francia."

on whom the duke, as a Spanish Infante, was financially dependent.¹ But a few years later, after the king's decease, the duke, actively assisted by the ex-Jesuit Borgo,² gradually put his plans into effect and entrusted the conduct of various schools to former members of the Society who were still in the country. On May 1st, 1793, he sought and obtained the Pope's secret assent to his action.³ The duke's aims went further than this: he thought of restoring the Society within his realm. With this object he appealed some weeks later to Catherine II. of Russia⁴ and the Vicar General Lenkiewicz⁵ for the transfer of some real Jesuits to take over the direction and internal construction of the nascent Province and to ensure its existence by the establishment of a novitiate. Flattered by this request, the Czarina readily assented.⁶ As soon as the roads were rendered passable by the cold of winter, the Vicar General sent off three Jesuits of Italian origin⁷ and granted former and future Jesuits working in

¹ *Duke Ferdinand I. to Charles III., January 26 and April 2, 1787, Archives of Simancas, Estado, 5253; *Charles III. to Ferdinand I., February 20 and May 8, 1787, Private Ducal Archives, Colorno, section "Carlo III."

² *Ferdinand I. to Fr. Borgo, October 1 and November 11, 1791, May 25, June 10, and July 13, 1792, April 30, 1793, in Jesuit possession, Italia, I., fasc. I. and II.

³ Pius VI. to Ferdinand I. of Parma, May 23, 1793, Private Ducal Archives, Colorno, "Pio VI."; printed in *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Summ. add. 1 *seq.*

⁴ *Ferdinand I. to Catherine II., July 23, 1793, in Jesuit possession, Italia, III., fasc. III.; *Causa Pignatelli*, I., Summ. add., 8 *seqq.*

⁵ *On July 23, 1793, *ibid.*; *Causa Pignatelli*, I., Summ. add., 11 *seqq.*; ZALENSKI-VIVIER, II., 373 *seq.*

⁶ *Catherine II. to Bogdanowicz, November 12, 1793, Chief State Archives, St. Petersburg, Foreign Office, XII., 211; *Catherine II. to Ferdinand I. of Parma, November 12, 1793, Private Ducal Archives, Colorno, "Ferdinando I."; *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Summ. add., 3.

⁷ *Lenkiewicz to Governor-General Passek, November 24, 1793,

Parma membership of the Society existing in Russia.¹ For fear of Spain, Pius VI. could go no further than give his silent consent to what had happened, hoping that Charles IV. would take a more favourable view as time went on and thus allow him to make greater concessions.² But all the efforts of

in Jesuit possession, Russia, Epp. Gen., I.; **id.* to Fr. Borgo, December 6, 1793, *ibid.*

¹ *Lenkiewicz to Ferdinand I. of Parma, December 22, 1793, *ibid.*; Bibl. Corsiniana, Rome, 37, H. 33; *Causa Pignatelli*, I., Summ. add., 16 *seqq.*

² *Ferdinand I. of Parma to Pius VI., January 20, 1794, in Jesuit possession, Italia, I., fasc. V.; *Causa Pignatelli*, I., Summ. add., 21 *seqq.*; Pius VI.'s *reply to Ferdinand I., of February 15, 1794: "L' affare di cui V. A. R. ci parla nelle due ultime sue, quanto ha in se un rettissimo fine, ha però altrettanto illodevole principio, perchè attaccato ad una unione di Refrattari, che mai hanno potuto fare corpo legittimo, ed accolti da una Potenza estranea dalla Nostra comunione, con l' appoggio della quale si sono sostenuti, non ostante la contraria disposizione della Pontificia autorità. Non mai abbiamo pensato, nè detto, che siasi fatto bene, a sciogliere un corpo, che per l' educazione, e per l' istruzione rendevasi molto utile alla Chiesa, la quale ne rilevava nella pubblica Liturgia il merito dell' Istitutore, ed ora pur troppo si sperimentano gl' effetti ruinosi della mancanza. Se poi consideriamo il metodo tenuto, e le viste di coloro, che v' ebbero le prime parti, neppure ci ha mai adeguato. Ciò non ostante essendo vegliante la Legge fatta, conviene osservarla. Noi però non ci daremo per inteso, come non ci siamo dato coi refugati nel Settentrione, ma se qualcuno dei Grandi Principi Cattolici, ce ne facesse risentimento, come sarà facile, per l' eccitamento degl' altri Regolari, che gli furono emuli, e per l' impeto di certi Filosofanti, che mossero la machina, saremo costretto riprovare la risoluzione presa da V. A. R. che ora sapendola, ci contentiamo di dissimularla." Private Ducal Archives, Colorno, " Pio VI. "; *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Summ. add. 4 *seq.* The duke objected to the Jesuits in White Russia being called "*refrattari*". " *Observe nel principio della Lettera suddetta, che la S. V. chiama Refrattari i Gesuiti Russi; ma come questo, Beatissimo Padre? Mentre colà esiste (*sub sigillo*) l' attestato giurato dell' *Approbo* replicatamente dalla S. V. proferito, così volendo quella Imperatrice, senza nominare altri

Ferdinand I. to change his cousin's mind were in vain.¹ Equally unsuccessful were the indirect steps taken by the Pope to influence the Spanish king.² The invasion of northern Italy by the French and the political convulsions attendant on it compelled the Jesuits to disperse and to abandon the work which they had only just begun.

To compensate as far as possible for the great loss of teachers and pastors caused by the suppression of the Society of Jesus, attempts were made almost simultaneously in Belgium and Italy to found new societies which were to work according to the rules and the spirit of St. Ignatius and to pave the way for the restoration of his foundation. In the Austrian Netherlands, in the spring of 1794, the Abbé Leonor Franz de Tournely, a French *émigré*, founded, with the

autentici Monumenti." Ferdinand I. of Parma to Pius VI., undated [March 21, 1794], *ibid.* Summ. add. 7 *seqq.* " * . . ora l'A. V. R. ha preso il verso giusto in procurare di persuadere il cognato [Charles IV.] alla reintegrazione. La ragione adotta in contrario di non fare torto al Promotore del scempio fatto, la stimiamo troppo infelice, e quindi avendoci V. A. R. prevenuto, sappiamo qual risposta dare, se saremo interrogato. Presentemente trovandosi balzati dall' influenza, che avevano i due osti più infensi della ripristinazione suddetta dovrebbersi la medesima rendersi tanto meno difficile. Onde l' A. V. R. non deve lasciare d' insistere. Tanto poi falsa, e calunniosa, è al solito, la diceria, che non vogliamo essere interrogato sulla materia, quanto si è vero, che intimamente lo desideriamo, e perciò ad ogni richiesta ci prestaremo quanto mai potiamo. Bisogna però non esternare questo nostro sentimento, perchè comparendo in stato d' indifferenza, potremo essere tanto più utile." Pius VI. to Ferdinand I. of Parma, August 9, 1774, *ibid.*, Sum. add. 12.

¹ *Ferdinand I. of Parma to Charles IV. of Spain, May 23, July 25, October 10 [November–December], 1794, January 30, 1795, September 14 and November 14, 1800, Private Ducal Archives, Colorno, "Carlo IV."; *Charles IV. to Ferdinand I. of Parma, June 17, September 2 and 9, November 11, December 30, 1794; October 15, 1800, *ibid.*

² *Pius VI. to Ferdinand I. of Parma, September 17, 1797, *ibid.*, "Pio VI."

assistance of Charles de Broglie, the Society of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, which was soon joined by some men of parts.¹ On the advance of the French revolutionary army the members of the society retired first to Schloss Leitershofen in Swabia, then to Göggingen, near Augsburg. At last they found a safe asylum in Vienna and a generous benefactress and zealous protectress in the person of the Archduchess Maria Anna. When Vienna was threatened with a siege and all foreigners had to leave the city, they were given a refuge in the neighbouring castle of Hagenbrunn. When Tournely, after a saintly life of only thirty years, died there on July 9th, 1797, the Society elected as his successor, at the wish of the deceased, Joseph Varin.² In 1798 the new Superior not only succeeded in laying the foundations of another establishment, at Prague, but he also obtained the provisional approval of the Society by Pius VI.,³ at the intercession of Cardinal Migazzi and several French *émigré* Bishops. But the very next year, on April 18th, 1799, the amalgamation with another society founded for the same purpose, the Regularized Clerks of the Faith of Jesus, brought the zealous Congregation to an end.

At about the same time as Tournely had started his foundation, Nicolò Paccanari, from the Valsugana, near Trent, had formed, in conjunction with several other priests, the Society of the Faith of Jesus (*Societas Fidei Jesu*), also known as Fideists or Paccanarists.⁴ After Paccanari, who in the meantime had taken the tonsure, had been chosen as Superior on August 14th, 1797, the formal constitution of the new

¹ HILLEGASS, *Die Gesellschaft vom Heiligsten Herzen Jesu* (Société du Sacré-Cœur de Jésus), Stuttgart, 1917 [*Kirchenrechtliche Abhandlungen*, ed. Ulrich Stutz, Part 89]; PFÜLF, *Die Anfänge der deutschen Provinz*, 10 seqq.; further literature there; ZALENSKI-VIVIER, II., 31 seqq.; HEIMBUCHER, *Orden u. Kongregationen*, III.², 87 seqq.

² GUIDÉE, *Vie du R. P. Jos. Varin*, Paris, 1860; HILLEGASS, 20 seqq.

³ PFÜLF, 14.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 14 seqq.; ZALENSKI-VIVIER, II., 35 seqq.; HEIMBUCHER, III.², 88 seqq.

society took place on the following day, the Assumption of Our Lady, in the Oratory of the Caravita in Rome. At the beginning of January 1798, the founder, with eight companions, all in Jesuit dress, entered into the occupation of a villa near Spoleto, which was to serve as a noviciate. At the hands of Pius VI., whom he visited in his captivity in Siena, Paccanari received several spiritual favours. When the students at the Propaganda were driven out of their college by the Revolution the Pope entrusted them to his care. Paccanari made three journeys to Rome on their account and was shut up in the Castel S. Angelo by the mistrustful Republican Government. He was soon released, but he and his companions had to leave the territory of the Roman Republic.¹ Most of his comrades retired to Parma, while Paccanari went to Hagenbrunn, where he succeeded in effecting the union with the Fathers of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus.² This society, which soon numbered 110 members, threw out branches in rapid succession in Italy, Austria, Germany, Belgium, England, France, and Switzerland.³ The subsequent history of the society lies outside the scope of this work. This much may be said, however, that it was not long before internal dissensions came to the surface. As Paccanari opposed the desire of the majority to coalesce with the Jesuits

¹ PFÜLF, 18 *seq.*

² Paccanari's *petition to Emp. Francis II. [July 12, 1799], State Archives, Vienna, K.F.A., 75c; *petition of the Fathers of Hagenbrunn to Francis II. for permission to combine the two institutions, of July 13, 1799, *ibid.*; *opinion of the Court Chancery of Bohemian Austria, July 16, 1799, *ibid.*; *Pro-memoria in dichiarazione dell' Istituto della Compagnia della Fede di Gesù [August 25, 1799], handed in by Paccanari, *ibid.*; Court Councillor von Fechtig's *opinion, of December 7, 1797, *ibid.*; *report by the Bohemian-Austrian Court Chancery on the requests submitted by Fr. Paccanari, of November 28, 1799, *ibid.*

³ PFÜLF, 21 *seq.*; SPECHT, *Geschichte der ehemaligen Universität Dillingen* (1922), 587 *seqq.*; *id.*, *Das Projekt der Überlassung der Universität Dillingen an den Orden der Benediktiner und Fideisten*, in *Jahrb. des Hist. Vereins Dillingen*, XI.

in Russia and would have preferred to take them under his obedience, the young society gradually began to dissolve. The formation of a female branch (known as the *Società delle Dilette di Gesù*) proved fatal to the headstrong enthusiast. Either individually or by communities the members joined forces with the Jesuits in Russia. Paccanari, against whom more and more serious accusations were being brought, was summoned before an ecclesiastical court on account of his scandalous conduct, and in August 1808 was sentenced by the Holy Office to two years' confinement, but he was set at liberty in 1809 at the second invasion of the French. He then passed into obscurity. Most of the remaining members of the society joined the Society of Jesus (revived in 1814).¹

In spite of the failure to enlist the support of the Court of Vienna in 1794, the efforts to restore the Society of Jesus never entirely ceased. Like Cardinal Gianfrancesco Albani and the Patriarch Giovanelli in Italy², Elector Klemens Wenzeslaus and his Minister Duminique strove earnestly in Germany to prevent the project dying of inanition.³ In 1797 the Elector, through the good offices of the Cardinal Primate Batthyány, invited the Hungarian hierarchy to act in concert⁴ and in 1799 he utilized his stay in Vienna to interest the Emperor Francis in the project.⁵ Though the Austrian Government

¹ PFÜLF, 29 *seqq.*

² *Albani to Giovanelli, December 31, 1776, in Jesuit possession, Italia, I., fasc. VI.

³ The prime movers were the brothers Obwexer, the Augsburg bankers, whose brother was a member of the community of ex-Jesuits in the college of St. Salvator, in Augsburg. Cf. *Obwexer to the Vicar-General Nigg, March 24, 1797, Ordinariatsarchiv, Augsburg, K. 89.

⁴ *Klemens Wenzeslaus to Batthyány, February 1, 1797, *ibid.*; *Duminique to Nigg, on the same day, *ibid.*; *Batthyány to Klemens Wenzeslaus, February 19, 1797, *ibid.*; *Duminique to Nigg, March 16, 1797, *ibid.*

⁵ " *Further . . . I have to inform Your Reverence and Honour that the matter of the restoration of the Jesuit Order, already reported in detail by me from Vienna to His Electoral Highness,

was in no doubt about the grievous harm that had been caused, especially to the younger generation, by the abolition of the Society of Jesus and its schools, nor of the necessity to repair the evil, opinions as to the best means of doing this differed widely.¹ In Duminique's view Pius VI. would have been willing to accede to a request put forward by the emperor² but he dared not defy the Spanish opposition without the support of a great Catholic Power. Charles IV. not only rejected all appeals but even tried to hold the Jesuits responsible for the atrocities and political upheavals that followed in the wake of the French Revolution.³ In view of these facts the vacillating attitude shown by the Pope towards the Jesuit question throughout his pontificate is not surprising.

When in December, 1798, Mgr. Litta, writing from St. Petersburg, where he was staying as Papal legate, raised the question of restoring the Society he received the reply from

is fully confirmed, that His Imperial Majesty is completely in favour of the project and has submitted the matter for the consideration of the Bohemian Austrian Court Chancery, which has answered the *quaestio* in the affirmative, and that it is only the *quaestio quomodo* that presents any difficulty, on account of the *Fundi*; and I hope on returning to Vienna to obtain the *consensum caesareum* for our colleges, so as to be free thenceforward to proceed towards this pious goal, for the iron must be struck when it is hot." Duminique to Rigg, June 29, 1799, *ibid.*

¹ " *Discussions de la question, savoir: s'il convient de rétablir la Société de Jésus, ou de lui subroger une autre Congrégation." Vienna, September 8, 1799, State Archives, Vienna, K.F.A. 75c. Further relevant documents of the year 1800, *ibid.*

² **Aide-mémoire* from Duminique to Lehrbach, November 5, 1794, Ordinariatsarchiv, Augsburg, K. 89.

³ " *Me atreveré a decir mas a V. N. y es que hallo muy expuesto el hacer siquiera la proposición de este restablecimiento en medio de la crisis fatal en que el mundo se encuentra; en medio de las agitaciones que ha padecido la S. Sede, y finalmente en medio de los temores de revoluciones políticas y religiosas, que si bien se examina, deben su origen a las opiniones Jesuíticas y a sus manejos impuros." Charles IV. to Pius VII., October 15, 1800, Arch. Prov. Tolet., Madrid; *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Sum. add., 158.

Mgr. Marotti,¹ who had followed the aged Pope into captivity, that this was a delicate and difficult question, as Pius VI. did not dare to oppose the openly expressed will of Spain, fearing to cause still greater harm. Moreover, his present state of health did not allow him to deal with so important a matter. But if the Russian Government could find a way of removing the Spanish opposition the Pope would gladly take up the suggestion, as no one deplored more than he the evil caused to the Church and State by the abolition of the Society.² When the Pope had recovered sufficiently to resume the conduct of affairs Marotti hastened to convey to the legate the provisional information that the Pope's decision was in harmony with his desires and suggestions, but he was to refrain from making any stir, lest opposition be aroused.³ On March 2nd, 1799, the Secretary was able to inform the legate officially that he might forward the request of the Russian Government and the Bishops and everything he deemed suitable; meanwhile, however, his attitude was to conform to the wishes of the Court and the Bishops. He was telling him this at the definite command of His Holiness.⁴ In a confidential covering note Marotti said that to make certain he had laid the official

¹ Marotti had been a member of the Society of Jesus.

² *Marotti to Litta, Certosa di Firenze, February 2, 1799, Nunziat. di Polonia, 344V, Papal Secret Archives; *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Sum. add., 20 seq.

³ *Marotti to Litta, February 23, 1799, Nunziat. di Polonia, *loc. cit.*; *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Sum. add., 22; *Spina to Antonelli, February 23, 1799, Bibl. Vallicelliana, Rome, "Monumenti storici," Z., No. 12.

⁴ " *Nostro Signore mi ha incaricato di precisamente risponderle: Che V. E. R. mandi pure la richiesta della Corte e dei Vescovi, e tutto quello inoltre che stimerà opportuno per parte di cotesti Gesuiti medesimi; e che frattanto si contenga con essi in quella maniera che Ella conoscerà essere conforme al desiderio di cotesta Corte e di cotesti Vescovi. Tanto ho l'onore di significarle in esecuzione dei precisi comandi di Sua Santità . . ." Marotti to Litta, March 2, 1799, Nunziat. di Polonia, 344V, *loc. cit.*; *Causa Pignatelli*, I., Summ. add., 23 seqq.

letter before the Pope before sending it off and that the Pope had said that he could not have expressed his mind more exactly. He had also read the whole of the legate's letter to His Holiness to convince him of the authenticity of the commission and of the cogency of its reasoning. The Pope, however, was already more than convinced of the necessity for the restoration.¹ Marotti's letter could hardly have arrived in St. Petersburg when Litta was expelled from Russia by the fickle and incalculable Czar.² The Jesuit question had to be postponed till a more favourable opportunity offered.

Meanwhile the invalid Pope had been separated from his assistants and, accompanied only by his confessor, a chaplain, and a valet, had been taken to Valence, in France. During the night of August 28th to 29th, 1799, death released him from his sufferings.

At the Court of St. Petersburg in the meantime the Jesuit Gruber, who was highly thought of by the emperor, was

¹ “*Ella vedrà che nelle brevi parole di Sua Santità le si concede moltissimo, anzi tutto quello che desideravasi. Io per maggior cautela, prima di spedirla, ho fatto presente a Nostro Signore la lettera suddetta e la Santità Sua si è degnata di dirmi, che non si poteva esprimere più esattamente la pontificia sua mente. Scrivo, questo, acciò le serva di regola. Al medesimo Santo Padre ho letto tutta la lettera da V. E. direttami (la quale per tutte le parti è un capo d'opera), sì per farli conoscere l'autenticità della mia commissione, sì ancora per persuaderlo con la forza delle sue ragioni. Ho trovato però il Santo Padre più che persuaso per se medesimo. Tocca adesso alla Divina Provvidenza il conservarcelo in istato da potere operare liberamente.” Marotti to Litta, March 2, 1799, *Nunziat. di Polonia, loc. cit.* Cf. *Litta to Antonelli, Vienna, August 17, 1799, *ibid.*; *Causa Pignatelli*, *Summ. add.*, 155. Neither Cardinal Antonelli nor Mgr. Spina were against the restoration of the Society on principle, but they thought it untimely and dangerous, on account of the opposition of the Catholic Powers. If Russia wanted the restoration it would have to put the Pope in a position to act freely and without fear of complaints. *Antonelli to Spina, March 17, 1799, *Biblioteca Vallicelliana*, Rome, *Monumenti storici*, Z, No. 12.

² PIERLING, V., 283.

diligently and prudently at work in the interest of his Society.¹ His efforts resulted in Paul I. writing to the newly elected Pope to ask him for the formal recognition of the Jesuits.² Pius VII. acceded to his request to the extent of imparting his official confirmation of the Society in Russia by means of the Brief *Catholicæ fidei* of March 7th, 1801.³ At the desire and request of the King of Naples, Pius VII. issued a special Brief on July 30th, 1804, sanctioning the restoration of the Society in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies.⁴ This was followed on August 7th, 1814, by the official restoration of the Society of Jesus throughout the world.⁵

¹ Benvenuti to Litta, July 29, 1799, Nunziat. di Polonia, 344, Papal Secret Archives; *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Sum. add., 154 seq.

² On August 11, 1800, Nunziat. di Polonia, 155, *loc. cit.*; *Causa Pignatelli*, II., Sum. add., 47.

³ *Institutum Societatis Iesu*, I., 332-5; RAVIGNAN, *Clément XIII.*, vol. II., 480 seqq.

⁴ "Per alias." *Instit. Soc. Iesu*, I., 335-7; RAVIGNAN, II., 485 seqq.

⁵ "Sollicitudo omnium." *Instit. Soc. Iesu*, I., 337-341; RAVIGNAN, I., 564-570. Cf. *Il ristabilimento della Compagnia di Gesù narrato dal Cardinale Pacca* in the *Civiltà cattolica*, ser. 16, vol. V. (1896), 564 seqq.

CHAPTER VI.

ACTIVITY WITHIN THE CHURCH—ALPHONSUS OF LIGUORI AND THE END OF THE MORAL CONTROVERSY.

(1)

ON the feast of the Ascension, 1774, Clement XIV. had announced the jubilee year, which, according to the custom of the Church, was celebrated every twenty-five years. In preparation for it he had missions held in four places in Rome from July 31st to August 15th.¹ Death, however, prevented him from following the ancient custom of opening the Holy Door in St. Peter's on Christmas Eve and thus inaugurating the Holy Year. Nevertheless, before it began, special faculties were imparted to the confessors by the Grand Penitentiary, Cardinal Boschi, and the Vicar of Rome. It was not till February 26th that the new Pope could open the Holy Door and on the same day announce the Holy Year by a solemn Bull for Rome and publish the usual faculties.² On December 25th, 1775, he prolonged the jubilee to the following year for the whole Catholic world.³

As was testified by the Pope in the document authorizing this extension, the year of grace had been spent with great devotion. The streets of Rome, as he said, had been crowded with the devout, the citizens of the Holy City had vied with one another in welcoming the pilgrims, and the strangers from abroad had given expression to their faith by their whole demeanour.⁴ The Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity instituted for the reception of pilgrims gave shelter to

¹ F. A. ZACCARIA, *Dell' Anno Santo*, Roma, 1775, 136.

² *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 8 *seqq.*, 12 *seqq.*, 13 *seqq.*

³ *Ibid.*, 186 *seqq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

130,390 persons for three days each and served 333,390 meals.¹ Prominent among the pilgrims of note were the Archduke Maximilian, the emperor's brother, and the Elector Palatine, Karl Theodor. The Duke of Gloucester, the King of England's brother, also visited Rome in the course of the year.

At the same time as the jubilee was extended there was sent to all the Bishops of the world² an Encyclical which was further evidence that Rome was fully cognisant of the chief danger of the time, the growing unbelief. Pius had no illusions about the importance of the new movement. "The new ideas," he wrote, "are creeping into the universities, the houses of the upper classes, the palaces of kings, and though it appals Us to say so, they are even making their way into the sanctuary."³ And while the secular rulers either did not recognize the danger that threatened themselves and the civil order as a result of the philosophy of unbelief or could not summon up the courage to offer an energetic opposition, the Pope clearly stated that revolution in the secular as well as the spiritual sphere was the inevitable consequence of denying the existence of God or His Providence.⁴ It was also hinted pretty clearly that the clergy might be facing a time of martyrdom. It was therefore the Pope's desire that the Bishops should offer a bold front to the enemy. A silence that left in error those that could still be taught was out of place; the Church would stand more firmly on the truth the more it was fought for for the sake of truth. "Fear not the power or the prestige of the enemy," he exhorted the pastors of the Church. "Let fear be far away from the Bishop who is strengthened by the anointing of the Holy Ghost; let it be far from the pastor whom the prince of pastors has taught by his example to despise even life itself for the safety of the flock."⁵

Pius spoke still more sternly when prescribing a jubilee

¹ NOVAES, XVI., I, 10.

² On December 25, 1775; *Bull. Cont.*, VI., I, 181 *seqq.*

³ *Ibid.*, 184, §7.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 185, §8.

dispensation for the States of the Church on the eve of his departure for Vienna.¹ The approach of Holy Week occasioned him to remind the Bishops of the sufferings of Christ. The only way a Bishop could repay Christ for the blessing of His sacrificial death was to make himself like his model, be crucified with Him, die with Him. Pius was to have ample opportunity of fulfilling his demands in his own person. By reason of the continuing afflictions of the Church the Pope again, in 1790 and 1792, prescribed an eight-days' jubilee for the city of Rome, the first of which was extended in 1792 to all the States of the Church.² In all these Briefs the Pope offered as weapons against the new dangers those that had stood the test during the Church's struggle of a thousand years : prayer and the loyal fulfilment of their duty by the Bishops and priests. In particular he asked that the coming generation be provided with good priests, wherefore the Bishops were to apply their zeal especially to the seminaries.

The Pope himself often had occasion to show favour to institutions of this kind,³ which called for his special attention after the disappearance of the Jesuit colleges. In many cases he transferred to them the revenues of extinct monastic houses. He also did much to improve the Roman University ; the new statutes it received praised his services highly. As Leo X. was regarded as its restorer and Benedict XIV. as its reformer, Pius VI. was regarded as its perfecter. Undying

¹ On February 26, 1782; *ibid.*, 943 *seq.*

² Briefs of June 8, 1790, and November 24, 1792, *ibid.*, VI., 2, 2180 *seq.*, 2562 *seq.*

³ Cf. *ibid.*, VI., 1, 610 (§13, Seminary at Chambéry), 796 (Comacchio), 797 (Bagnorea); VI., 2, 1207 (Orvieto), 1309 (Salamanca), 1547 (Pesaro), 1551 and 1558 (Avignon), 1752 (Gubbio), 1761 and 1903 (Gnesen), 1772 and 1825 (Città di Castello), 1860 (Forum Fulvii, Valenza in Piedmont), 1862 (Belem in North Brazil), 1908 (Lamego in Portugal), 2002 (Sardinia); VI., 3, 2194 (Faenza), 2398 (Sernache do Bom Jardim), 2931 (Subiaco), 3062 (Guarda). A seminary for the Ruthenian Uniats was founded by their Bishop Maximilian Ryło; *v.* Brief of January 19, 1780, *ibid.*, VI., 1, 644.

thanks were due to him for a new syllabus of lectures, the encouragement of chemical and physical experiments, of anatomic and botanic exhibitions, and the erection of three new chairs for research into theological sources of evidence, for midwifery, and surgery.¹ The universities of Ferrara and Mainz were supported by the transfer of revenues,² nor was the unfortunate foundation of Coimbra denied this advantage.³ Even the endeavour to present the Canary Islands with a university of their own met with his encouragement.⁴ Papal approval was given to the statutes of the Biblioteca Angelica in Rome.⁵

Pius VI. had ample opportunity not only of promoting the acquisition of beneficial knowledge but also the combating of errors. A definite warning against the flood of writings attacking Christianity itself was unnecessary for the faithful—on one occasion only was a pamphlet of this kind condemned by him.⁶ He had more often to raise his voice against enemies who professed to be taking their stand on Catholic ground, notably against the Synod of Pistoia⁷ and Febronius,⁸ also against Eybel's works on confession⁹ and more sternly still against his attack on the primacy of the Pope. Eybel's intention was to damp the ardour that the Pope's journey to Vienna was expected to enkindle. During his stay in Germany Pius VI. could do nothing in self-defence; it was not till a

¹ Ratification of the new statutes on July 15, 1788, *ibid.*, VI., 2, 1950-1965.

² On October 23, 1772, and August 24, 1781; *ibid.*, VI., 1, 420, 826.

³ Briefs of May 2, 1775; *ibid.*, 60, 63.

⁴ Brief of May 25, 1792; *ibid.*, VI., 3, 2525. Cologne and Bonn universities closed down in 1796 and 1797; *Hist. polit. Blätter*, CLIII., 459. For the university of Münster, *cf. Freib. Kirchenlex.*, VIII², 1998.

⁵ On June 2, 1786; *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 2, 1718.

⁶ On November 17, 1784, *ibid.*, 1411.

⁷ See above, pp. 152 *seq.*

⁸ See our account, vol. XL., ch. i.

⁹ On November 21, 1784; *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 2, 1419.

second edition of the work appeared and was translated into modern Greek that he issued a comprehensive Brief against it.¹

Another decree condemned ² the work by Professor Isenbiehl of Mainz on the prophecy of Isaiah about the virgin birth of the Saviour. Other decrees were more concerned with certain practices. The priests in France who had found it convenient to take an oath of loyalty to the civil constitution had no episcopal permission to exercise the cure of souls. A manifesto, apparently issued in the name of French Generals, informed them that in this dilemma they could obtain the necessary faculties from a certain Bishop of Agra. The manifesto was denounced by Pius VI.³ A hot-headed ex-Jesuit, Carlo Borgo, had gone so far as to address to the Pope a memorial in which he tried to show that the Brief of suppression had been brought about by fraud, had been signed under duress and was invalid. This conjecture was commended in another work, the authorship of which was veiled in obscurity. Both these writings were severely condemned by Pius in special Briefs.⁴

More dangerous than these productions was the flood of writings that were attacking the foundations of Christianity. It was these that prepared the way for the onslaught on the Church, the Orders, and the Papacy in particular, and then the throne. "Rest assured," Voltaire was writing as early as 1768,⁵ "that the revolution in men's minds that has been going on for twelve years or so has contributed not a little to the expulsion of the Jesuits from so many States and has encouraged the princes to strike some blows at the idol in Rome." Frederick II. was of a similar opinion ⁶: "The

¹ *Super soliditate*, of November 28, 1786, *ibid.*, 1746-1752.

² On September 20, 1779, *ibid.*, VI., 1, 621.

³ On July 31, 1793, *ibid.*, VI., 3, 2642.

⁴ On June 13, 1781, and November 18, 1788; *ibid.*, VI., 1, 807, VI., 3, 2013. For the two works, cf. SOMMERVOGEL, s.v. "Borgo", I., 1797; s.v. "Dolmi", III., 122; REUSCH, *Index*, II., 925 seq.

⁵ To Villevieille on October 20, 1768, *Œuvres*, LX., 593.

⁶ To Voltaire, February 10, 1767, *Œuvres*, ed. Preuss, XXIII., 122, cf. *ibid.*, to Voltaire, May 5, 1767, pp. 135 seq.

philosophers are clearly undermining the foundations of the Apostolic throne. The wizard's book of magic is being laughed at, the founders of the sects are being dragged in the dirt, tolerance is being preached. The game is up, it would need a miracle to set the Church on its feet again."

In contrast to these triumphant fanfares the calm and assurance with which the Popes regarded the raging storm as they stood at the helm of the Church presented a noble spectacle. In none of the many Papal edicts dealing with the contemporary situation is there the least trace of despair. They quietly admonish the faithful to make use of the seemingly powerless weapon of prayer and the Bishops to trust in the means put in their hands by the supernatural structure of the Church. Though tottering, as it were, on the verge of the abyss, the Pope, undaunted, deals with current business on the old-established principles and when at last Pius VI. is forced into exile he remembers that Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, has also suffered imprisonment¹ and that he is not the first Pope to be dragged away from Rome with the prospect of ending his life in exile.

In the stress of the time it was a consolation to Pius VI. to try to confirm the faithful too in their trust in God by means of popular missions and penitential processions.² In 1792, when the outlawing of the Jesuits was at its height, he also recommended the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius, and in 1796 he arranged for the clergy of Rome to perform them for ten days in the two Jesuit churches and that of the Apostles.³ He imparted spiritual favours to the retreat house established by the Oratorians in Seville.⁴ He was also glad to know that the sense of charity had not died out among the faithful. He was able to give his Papal approval to several charitable institutions,⁵ such as those for the insane⁶ and for orphans,⁷

¹ NOVAES, XVI., 2, 126.

² NOVAES, XVI., 2, 26, 51.

³ *Ibid.*, XVI., 1, 232, XVI., 2, 57.

⁴ On February 5, 1793, *ibid.*, XVI., 3, 2579.

⁵ *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 256, 666, 834, VI., 3, 2971.

⁶ *Ibid.*, VI., 2, 1181, 1874.

⁷ *Ibid.*, VI., 1, 834, VI., 3, 2971.

and others intended to check the excesses of young vagabonds.¹ And, as he often said himself,² it cheered him to think of the Saints of the Church and to be able to confer distinction on some of them by granting them the Church's recognition of their services.

(2)

Like his predecessor, Pius VI. did not undertake any canonization but he carried out quite a number of beatifications. A notable proportion of the persons thus honoured had lived quite recently, or at least their lives had extended into the eighteenth century—clear testimony that even in so godless an age holiness in the Church was not extinct. Niccolò di Longobardi, a lay-brother of the Order of Minims of St. Francis of Paula, lived until 1709,³ Bonaventura of Potenza and Pacificus of S. Severino, Franciscans of the branch Orders of Conventuals and Reformati, died in 1711 and 1721 respectively.⁴ Other Franciscans were the Observant Thomas of Cora (d. 1729) and the Alcantarine Giovanni Giuseppe of the Cross (d. 1734).⁵ The great Franciscan missionary Leonardo di Porto Maurizio, who died in 1751, approached quite close to the time of Pius VI. A large number of Ital'ans, so ran the decree of beatification,⁶ could still see him in their mind's eye and could still hear the thunder of his impassioned words echoing in their ears. In August, 1795, the Pope went to the Franciscan Convent in Rome and announced the decree in the

¹ *Ibid.*, VI, 1, 307, 547.

² E.g. *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 3, 2546, 2959, 3126.

³ Brief of beatification, September 17, 1786, *ibid.*, VI., 3, 3126.

⁴ Briefs of November 16, 1775, *ibid.*, VI., 1, 175, and August 4, 1786, *ibid.*, VI., 3, 3119.

⁵ Briefs of September 3, 1786, and May 15, 1789, *ibid.*, VI., 3, 3122 and 2038.

⁶ Of June 14, 1796, *ibid.*, 2947 *seq.* "Cum florentiori essemus aetate, Dei servum novimus quod certe animo repetentes ingenti afficimur laetitia," says Pius VI. on this occasion, and on August 30, 1796 (*ibid.*, 2959), "quo dum adhuc in minoribus essemus familiariter uti sumus."

room where the great preacher had died. The solemn ceremony of beatification took place on June 19th, 1796.¹

Besides these Franciscans of the eighteenth century other members of the Order were similarly honoured by the Pope. Among them were the Spanish Observant Nicholas Fattor (d. 1582)² and his contemporary, Andrew Hibernon, an Alcantarine lay-brother.³ Sebastián of Apparitio, the son of a Galician peasant, was particularly remarkable. Travelling to Mexico, he became there what is now known as an *entrepreneur*. He erected buildings and cut roads through impenetrable forests, the most notable of which was that from Mexico to Zacatecas. His profit he spent on good works. He married twice but in both cases his marital relations were as those of St. Joseph. When he was already past his seventieth year he thought that he ought to devote the rest of his life to God and he entered the Franciscan Order. The "rest of his life" lasted twenty-eight years and he was nearly a hundred when he died in 1600. He had richly deserved the title of "Blessed" conferred upon him by Pius VI. on March 27th, 1789.⁴

The youngest of the large branches of the Franciscan Order, the Capuchins, received two new *beati* at the hands of Pius VI. : the lay-brother Bernard of Cffida⁵ (d. 1694), in whose honour Joseph Haydn composed his famous "Mass of All Saints", and the Capuchin General, Lorenzo of Brindisi (d. 1619), the founder of many convents of his Order in Germany and the diplomat who worked successfully for the League of Princes against the Turks and in its battles with them spurred on by word and deed the Christian host to victory.⁶

Two more Spanish religious were raised to the altars by Pius VI. The Trinitarian, Michael de Sanctis, was only thirty-four years old when he died in 1625 with the reputation

¹ NOVAES, XVI., 2, 41.

² Brief of August 18, 1786, *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 3, 3120, *cf.*, VI., 2, 1745.

³ Brief of May 13, 1791, *ibid.*, VI., 3, 3143, *cf.* 2419.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 2033.

⁵ Brief of May 19, 1795, *ibid.*, 2772.

⁶ Brief of May 23, 1783, *ibid.*, VI., 2, 1221.

of perfect virtue.¹ Gaspar de Bono had already led a spotless life in the world, as a merchant and a soldier, and he continued this in a more perfect way from the time he entered the Order of St. Francis of Paula until his death in 1604.² Some women also were beatified by Pius VI. Two daughters of the Portuguese king, Sancho I. (d. 1211), had already been declared by Clement XI. to be worthy of the veneration of the faithful³; through Pius VI. they were joined by a third sister and royal daughter, Mafalda (d. 1257).⁴ After her marriage had been declared invalid, Mafalda became a Cistercian. The related Order of Benedictine nuns also received a new Saint by the Papal beatification of Giovanna Maria Bonomo (d. 1670) on June 2nd, 1783.⁵ The Augustinian Order claimed Catalina Tomas, who had died at Palma on the island of Mallorca in 1574 and was beatified on August 12th, 1792.⁶ Mary of the Incarnation, a Discalced Carmelite who had died in 1618, was declared by the Church to be worthy of veneration on June 5th, 1791.⁷ Maria Anna of Jesus (d. 1624), from Madrid, was the founder of a Third Order of Discalced Mercedarian nuns.⁸

All the above were surpassed in noble parentage and ecclesiastical rank by Juan de Ribera, son of the Viceroy of Naples and Archbishop of Valencia, who remained a shining

¹ Brief of May 2, 1779, *ibid.*, VI., 1, 564.

² Brief of August 22, 1786, *ibid.*, VI, 3, 3124.

³ Cf. our account, vol. XXXIII., 344.

⁴ On July 27, 1792, and January 10, 1794, *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 3, 2544 and 2652; cf. *Acta SS. Maii*, I., 170; *Fortunato de S. Bonaventura*, Coimbra, 1814; *Zisterzienser-Chronik*, XIX. (1906), 276.

⁵ *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 2, 1224; biography by FRIDOLIN SEGMÜLLER (1922).

⁶ *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 3, 2545; canonized June 22, 1930.

⁷ NOVAES, XVI., 1, 216; Brief of May 24, 1791, in BARRUEL, *Journal eccl.*, III., September 1791, 3.

⁸ Brief of beatification, May 13, 1783, *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 2, 1210. Extension of the cult to all Spanish countries, *ibid.*, 1362.

example for his clergy until his death in 1611.¹ Another Bishop, Antonio Fatati (d. 1484), who occupied in succession the sees of Siena and Ancona, was honoured in a less solemn manner by the permission to celebrate his Mass.²

Similarly, either by the conferment of ecclesiastical honours or by the ratification of a long existing cult, many others were singled out for distinction by Pius VI. Thus several more Franciscans, such as Brother Giles,³ the founder's companion, Giovanni Buralli of Parma, who was General of the Order from 1247 to 1257 and died in 1289⁴, and the able preacher of the Marches, Pietro di Treja (d. 1304).⁵ Also Gundisalvo of Lagos, an Augustinian of the fifteenth century,⁶ the Servite Giro'amo Ranuzzi (d. 1455),⁷ and some others.⁸

The cult of Christ's foster-father, which had shown a marked increase since the fifteenth century, received further encouragement from Pius VI.,⁹ as did also that of Our Lady of Sorrows¹⁰ and the Feast of the Rosary.¹¹ Two Feasts of Our Lord, namely those of the Holy Redeemer and of the Precious Blood, also became more widely known.¹²

Through many of his beatifications Pius VI. showed that he was utterly opposed to the tendency of the age. The aristocratic world of that time was down on its knees before Voltaire and Rousseau, and the Pope was bold enough, as if by way of a challenge, to hold up as models, in opposition to these

¹ Brief of August 30, 1796, *ibid.*, VI., 3, 2959. Extension of the cult, *ibid.*, 3041.

² NOVAES, XVI., 2, 41; "Life" by GIAC. CANTALAMESSA, Ancona, 1851.

³ NOVAES, XVI., 1, 34.

⁴ Cf. LEMMENS in *Buchbergers Kirchl. Handlexikon*, II., 130.

⁵ NOVAES, XVI., 2, 20.

⁶ *Ibid.*, XVI., 1, 34.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 23, and XVI., 2, 89; cf. *Anal. Iuris Pont.*, XX., 12.

⁹ *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 407, 473, VI., 2, 1353, 1424, 1516, 1525, 1724, 1736, 1737, VI., 3, 2152, 2626, 2672.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, VI., 1, 439, VI., 2, 1479, VI., 3, 2771, 2929.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, VI., 2, 1974, 2024, VI., 3, 2318.

¹² *Ibid.*, VI., 2, 1778, VI., 3, 2875, 3047.

venerated names, figures clothed in the Franciscan cowl. He said repeatedly in the Briefs of beatification that the increasing worldliness and hedonism of the age made it more than ever necessary for him to call attention to the eternal and world-preserving principles of Christianity, to humility, chastity, and the sacerdotal zeal for souls. He said, for instance, in the Brief on Catalina Tomas¹ that waves of error, revolt, and dissension were beating against the bark of Peter with greater force than ever and were it not for the divine promise that the gates of hell were unable to overcome it, they could not but fear that finally it would be completely swamped. Heresies long since condemned were reappearing and the ideals of Christianity were being dragged in the dust. It was providential, therefore, that an example of chastity should again be held before their eyes. He drew attention to the humility and charity of the simple Capuchin lay-brother, Bernardo of Offida, precisely because of the corruption of the age "in which a proud and self-willed philosophy was ravaging unchecked everywhere."² At a time "when many false prophets are approaching us"³ the Pope held aloft as guiding beacons such great figures as Giovanni Giuseppe of the Cross⁴ and Juan Ribera,⁵ who despised all the advantages of noble birth for the sake of the Gospel.

It was also under Pius VI. that the discussions about the beatification of Bishop Juan Palafox y Mendoza finally came to an end.⁶ Under Clement XIII. it had been stated by the Congregation of Rites that in Palafox's writings nothing was to be found that contradicted the rulings of the Church or the teachings of the Church Fathers. The Pope had confirmed this statement,⁷ on the strength of which Clement XIV., on September 17th, 1771, had forbidden anyone to raise any

¹ *Ibid.*, VI., 3, 2545; cf. VI., 2, 1210.

² *Ibid.*, VI., 3, 2772.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 2038.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 2959.

⁶ Cf. our account, vol. XXXVII., 409 *seqq.*, XXXVIII., 196 *seq.*

⁷ Decrees of December 9, 1760, August 27, 1766, and February 21, 1767; ARNAULD, *Œuvres*, XXXII., Préface, p. xxviii.

further objections to Palafox's teaching.¹ On the death of Clement XIV. Moñino had in mind the presentation of a request that the new Pope should follow the example of his predecessor and either undertake the conduct of the cause himself or entrust it to Cardinal Negroni. Pius VI. agreed to the latter suggestion,² and on January 28th, 1777, the Congregation of Rites voted, in the presence of the Pope, on the question whether the Bishop of Ossuna had attained the degree of virtue necessary for canonization. The verdict being unfavourable, the cause of beatification was dropped for good and all. From some observations on this session of the Congregation published by Azara we learn that "incalculable sums" were spent on promoting the cause.³ Azara regretted its failure because Palafox's beatification would have amounted to a justification of the suppression of the Jesuits.⁴

Naturally in the course of the proceedings dealing with the proposed beatification the subjects of discussion included Palafox's hostility towards the Jesuits and his letter of January 8th, 1649, "which bristles with lies and calumnies against the Society."⁵ At first the Jesuits disputed the authenticity of the letter, but after 1699 they had admitted it. When Arnauld showed that the original had been handed over by Palafox himself to the Discalced Carmelites in Madrid, Bottari, the *Promotor Fidei*, sent for it and it was delivered to him. Any doubts about the authenticity of the letter were therewith dispelled⁶ but it was also a convincing disproof of Palafox's holiness.⁷

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Moñino to Grimaldi, April 13, 1775, Papal Secret Archives, Regolari, Gesuiti, 17 (54).

³ LE BRET, *Magazin zum Gebrauch der Kirchen- u. Staaten-geschichte*, VII. (1780), 379.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ SCHRÖDL, in the *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, IX., 1294.

⁶ "Hodie tamen cessat hoc dubium, cum repertum sit originale, manu ipsius Servi Dei subscriptum." The "Promotor Fidei de Sancto Petro" in the cause of beatification, in ARNAULD, *Œuvres*, loc. cit.

⁷ Cardinal Calini said in his "votum" that the letter to

(3)

The duty of finding capable assistants in their fight against the spirit of the age which Pius impressed upon the Bishops,¹ devolved upon him too when it came to filling the vacancies in the College of Cardinals.

During his long reign Pius VI. created no less than seventy-five Cardinals,² two of whom were appointed *in petto* only and were never made public,³ and three of the others failed to retain the purple. Vincenzo Maria Altieri and Tommaso Antici renounced their cardinalitial title in 1798 to avoid the molestations of the Roman Republic.⁴ The last French Minister of Finance before the Revolution, the quite unworthy Loménie de Brienne, was made a Cardinal on December 15th, 1788, at the persistent demand of Louis XVI. Having taken the oath of loyalty to the civil constitution of the clergy, he accepted the newly created diocese of Yonne instead of his bishopric of Sens and tried to justify his conduct in two letters to the Pope. Pius VI. replied by means of a Brief of February 20th, 1789, to the Abbé Maury, in which he condemned Loménie's behaviour most severely. Loménie thereupon resigned his cardinalate in a letter to Rome of March 26th, and on September 26th, 1791, Pius VI. deprived him of all his dignities.⁵ In spite of this the Archbishop was arrested by the revolutionary leaders and when a second order for his arrest was issued he was found dead in his bed.⁶

Of the seventy remaining wearers of the purple thirty-one predeceased the Pope and had thus been appointed in vain as electors in the coming conclave.

Innocent X. showed "Palafoxii in carpenda proximorum fama effrenis malitia, in mendaciis libertas, in conviciis facilitas et obstinatio in sua iniquitate . . ." (BOERO, *Osservazioni*, 191.)

¹ See above, p. 332.

² NOVAES, XVI., 1, 19 *seqq.*

³ See below, p. 344.

⁴ *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 3, 2385-2494.

⁵ NOVAES, XVI., 1, 175; WEINAND in *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, VIII², 135 *seq.*

⁶ NOVAES, XVI., 2, 130; see our account, XXXVII., 386-7.

Pius had created this imposing number of Cardinals in twenty-three instalments. Four of them were in the first year of his pontificate, 1775. The Grand Penitentiary, Leonardo Antonelli, and Bernardino de' Vecchi received the red hat on April 24th, and on May 29th the same honour was paid to the Pope's uncle, Giancarlo Bandi. On July 17th Francesco Maria Banditi, a Theatine, and Ignazio Boncompagno Ludovisi were nominated *in petto*; the promulgation followed on November 13th, when the Dominican General, Giovanni Tommaso de Boxadors, also received the purple.¹ Of these six Cardinals only the first-named lived to see the election of Pius VII., whereas De' Vecchi, who was honoured at the same time as he, died before the year was out. The Pope was more fortunate with his nominations in the following year. On April 15th the red hat was conferred on the nuncios to Madrid and Florence, Valenti Gonzaga and Archinto, and on May 20th on the nuncio to Poland, Durini, and Guido Calcagnini; Valenti (d. 1808) and Calcagnini (d. 1807) were both living when the Pope returned to Rome.²

By 1777 fifteen Cardinals were dead. To fill the gaps the Pope decided to create ten more on one day, June 23rd.³ The most important of them was the Barnabite from Savoy, Giacinto Sigismondo Gerdil, famous for his philosophical and theological writings. Even while still a student of theology at Bologna he attracted the attention of the Archbishop, Lambertini, who enlisted his aid in the compilation of his work on canonization, and at the age of nineteen he occupied a chair of philosophy at Macerata. Called to Turin in 1740, he became secretary to the Court Academy and tutor to the future King Charles Emmanuel IV., who, when he died in 1819, was a member of the restored Society of Jesus. Gerdil

¹ NOVAES, XVI., I, 19; *cf.* the allocation of November 13, 1775, *Bull. Cont.*, VI., I, 164. For Boxadors, *cf.* WALZ, 283 *seq.*; *Cenotaphium Leonardi Antonelli card.*, Pisauri, 1825.

² NOVAES, *loc. cit.*, 30. A splendid recognition of Durini's activity in Poland in JANSSEN, *Zur Genesis*, 117; *cf.* our account, vol. XXXVI., 223 *seqq.*; XXXVIII., 379 *seqq.*

³ NOVAES, *loc. cit.*, 34.

was called to Rome by Pius VI., who appointed him consultor to the Holy Office and, after the red hat had been bestowed upon him, Prefect of the Propaganda and member of most of the Congregations. Forced to leave Rome when it was occupied by the French, Gerdil retired to his Abbazia della Chiusa, where he was often in serious want. At the conclave of 1799 there was a prospect of his becoming Pope but his candidature was opposed by Austria. He was, however, able to accompany Pius VII. to Rome, where his most active life came to an end on August 12th, 1802. His philosophical treatises dealt with the questions raised by Locke, Wolf, Malebranche, and Rousseau; he wrote on moral philosophy, political science, apologetics, and theology, also on mathematics and history. The value of his mathematical writings was acknowledged even by D'Alembert. His observations on the retractation of Febronius were highly praised by Pius VI. in a special Brief of March 3rd, 1793. Gerdil also wrote a refutation of two works which had found fault with Pius VI.'s Brief against Eybel, and another subject of his was the Papal condemnation of the Synod of Pistoia.¹

Gerdil was first created Cardinal *in petto* on June 23rd, 1777, along with the Camaldolese Andrea Giovannotti, Archbishop of Bologna, the promulgation in both cases taking place on December 15th. Others who were created *in petto* on June 23rd were Altieri and the former nuncio to Florence, Gianantonio Mancinforte Sperelli; their names were promulgated on December 11th. Besides these four there were two others created *in petto* but their names were never published, so that their identities are still unknown. Four others received the red hat on June 23rd, 1777, only one of whom, Bernardino Honorati, lived to see the beginning of the next pontificate. Of the others, Sperelli died in 1781, Marcantonio Marcolini in

¹ "Life," by Piantoni, Rome, 1831; cf. HERGENRÖTHER, in *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, V²., 360 *seqq.* Complete editions of his works: Bologna, 1784 (6 vols.), Rome, 1806 (20 vols.), Naples, 1853 (7 vols.). Further information in the *Anal. Iuris Pont.*, I., Roma, 1855, 480 *seqq.*, 627 *seq.*; III. (1858), 1107; IV. (1860), 1428, 2340.

1782, the Cardinal Deacon Gregorio Salviati in 1794, and Guglielmo Pallotta in 1795.

Up to this point all the newly-created Cardinals, except the Spaniard Boxadors and the Savoyard Gerdil, had been Italians. It was now time for the other nations and Courts to be honoured by the creation of Crown Cardinals. In the honours list of June 1st, 1778,¹ there was not a single compatriot of the Pope's. On this occasion the red hat was bestowed on the Archbishop of Seville (Francis Xavier Delgado), the Patriarch of Lisbon (Ferdinand de Souza), the Archbishop of Rouen (Dominique de la Rochefoucauld de Saint Elpis), the Archbishop of Gran (Joseph von Batthyány, a native of Vienna),² also the Piedmontese Tommaso Maria Ghilini, formerly nuncio in Brussels, and Charles Joseph Philip de Martiniana, Bishop of St-Jean de Maurienne. Two more who were created at the same time made a name for themselves, though in very different ways. Louis René de Rohan Guemenée was involved in the notorious necklace affair but redeemed this blunder by his courageous stand against the civil constitution of the clergy. John Henry, Count of Frankenberg, Archbishop of Malines and Primate of Belgium, acquired his fame in quite a different way. A Silesian from Grossglogau, he was trained at the German College in Rome, and thanks to the confidence placed in him by the Empress Maria Theresa he was made Archbishop of Malines, where he was famous for his victorious fight against Josephism and later for the resistance he offered to the French revolutionaries.³ It was symptomatic of the disturbed times that many of the above-mentioned Cardinals could not peacefully await their

¹ NOVAES, *loc. cit.*, 46. Souza's nomination as Patriarch of Lisbon, on March 1, 1778, *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 481 *seqq.*

² Pius personally conferred the red hat on him and Cardinal Firmian on April 19, 1782, *Bull. Cont.*, *loc. cit.*, 938. Cf. our account, XXXVIII., 447.

³ Biography by VERHAEGEN, Tournai, 1890; A. THEINER, *Der Kardinal J. H. Graf von Frankenberg*, Freiburg, 1850; STREBER, in the *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, IV²., 1699 *seqq.*; STEINHUBER, II²., 315 *seq.*

deaths in their episcopal cities. The Frenchman De la Rochefoucauld died in exile at Münster in 1800, his compatriot Rohan at Ettenheim in 1803, and Frankenberg at Breda in 1804.

Franz Herzan und Harras, who received his red hat on July 12th, 1779, was a pupil of the German College, like Frankenberg, but his activity was of a very different kind. Appointed *chargé d'affaires* in Rome in 1775 and ambassador in 1782, he collaborated wholeheartedly with Kaunitz.¹ Alessandro Mattei,² who was well known as an excellent prelate, was made a Cardinal at the same time as Herzan but his name was not promulgated till May 22nd, 1782, when the Pope was in Ferrara, where Mattei was Archbishop. He was Bishop of Ostia and Velletri when he died in 1820.³

There were no more cardinalitial nominations of major importance till 1785. Some isolated nominations were made on December 11th, 1780, when Paolo Francesco Antamori was thus honoured and Mancinforte and Altieri were promulgated; also on December 16th, 1782, when the honour was conferred on the Theatine Giuseppe Capece Zurlo, Archbishop of Naples, and Raniero Finocchietti of Pisa, whose name, however, was not made known till December 17th, 1787. One new Cardinal of distinct importance was Giovanni Andrea Archetti, nuncio to Poland and legate to Russia, whose services were thus rewarded on September 20th, 1784.⁴

Meanwhile, however, death had caused so many gaps in the Sacred College that fresh nominations on a large scale became inevitable. On February 4th, 1785, fourteen new wearers of the purple were chosen.⁵ Five of them had been nuncios: Giuseppe Garampi in Vienna, Giuseppe Doria Pamfili and Niccolò Colonna di Stigliano in Madrid, Vincenzo Ranucci and

¹ S. BRUNNER, *Theologische Dienerschaft*, I seqq.; STEINHUBER, II², 308; WURZBACH, IX., 364.

² *Bull. Cont.*, VI., I, 923.

³ NOVAES, *loc. cit.*, 51.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 51, 59, 100, 121. Cf. above, pp. 165 seqq.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 131. Garampi's simple but dignified monument is in S. Giovanni e Paolo.

Carlo Bellisomi in Lisbon. Among the fourteen was the Pope's successor, the Benedictine Barnaba Chiaramonti, but when he was elected Pope only two of the five nuncios just mentioned were still alive—Ranucci and Doria—and of the eight others who were made Cardinals at the same time only three lived to see Chiaramonti's election: Muzio Gallo (d. 1801) and the two Cardinal Deacons Carlo Livizzani and Giuseppe Doria's brother, Antonio Maria Doria Pamfili. All the other five had predeceased them: Paolo Massei, Giovanni di Gregorio, Giovanni Maria Riminaldi, Francesco Carvaria, and the Cardinal Deacon Ferdinando Maria Spinelli.

In the course of the next three years the cardinalate was conferred on the Pope's nephew, Romoaldo Braschi Onesti (December 18th, 1786), Filippo Garandini (January 29th, 1787), José Francisco de Mendoza (April 7th, 1788), who was entitled to the honour in virtue of his appointment to the Patriarchate of Lisbon,¹ and Loménie de Brienne (May 5th, 1788).²

At the nomination of March 10th, 1789, some more non-Italians were appointed.³ Antonio de Sentmanat y Cartella was a Spaniard; Francisco Antonio de Lorenzana, Archbishop of Mexico and then of Toledo, was born in Lyons but his parentage was Spanish. Germany received a Cardinal in the person of Joseph Franz von Paula von Auersperg, Bishop of Passau, France in that of Louis Joseph de Laval Montmorency, Bishop of Metz, who died in Altona, an exile from France, in 1808. To these four foreigners Pius VI. joined five more of his compatriots. One of them, Stefano Borgia, made a name for himself as an expert in historical research and archæology. Governor of Benevento and Secretary of the Propaganda from 1770 to 1789, he was "distinguished for his character as much as his knowledge".⁴ Driven from Rome along with Pius VI.,

¹ NOVAES, *loc. cit.*, 160, 165, 175.

² See above, p. 342.

³ NOVAES, *loc. cit.*, 188.

⁴ VON REUMONT, in the *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, II², 1122. The archaeologist Zoëga looked on him as "a second father". *Allg. Deutsche Biogr.*, XLV., 390 *seqq.*, 392. Cf. above, p. 52.

he returned with Pius VII. He died at Lyons in 1804 when accompanying the latter to Paris. The Borgia Museum in the Propaganda still commemorates his name.¹ Important men in their day were the former nuncio to Brussels, Ignacio Busca, and the Archbishop of Turin, Vittore Maria Baldassare Gaetano Costa d'Arignano. Tommaso Antici, who resigned the purple in 1798, had been the Polish ambassador to Rome and was wanted as Cardinal by the Polish king. Filippo Campanelli long enjoyed the confidence of Pius VI., who raised him to the rank of Cardinal Deacon. To these names the Pope would gladly have added that of Lodovico Flangini, the Patriarch of Venice, but the Republic was unwilling to provide the means that the dignity of a Cardinal demanded. Nevertheless, Flangini did receive the red hat on August 3rd, 1789. He had been married and did not embark on an ecclesiastical career until after his wife had died. At first Cardinal Deacon, then Cardinal Priest, he rose to the highest rank in his native city.²

Only one Cardinal was created on September 26th, 1791, and again on June 11th, 1792,³ but both bore illustrious names. Fabrizio Ruffo, nephew of the elder Cardinal Ruffo, was appointed by Pius VI. in 1791 in place of the deposed Loménie de Brienne ⁴ and as a mark of gratitude towards the uncle, whose benevolence Pius had enjoyed in his youth. The nomination, however, was not promulgated till February 21st, 1794. This most capable man became Treasurer-General of the Camera, Grand Prior of the Knights of St. John, Prefect of the Congregation for Water Supply and the Pontine Marshes, and superintendent of Rome's food supply. After the establishment of the Parthenopean Republic by the French, Ruffo, now practically destitute, left Rome for Calabria, incited the

¹ MORONI, *Diz.*, VI., 52 seq.; *Allg. Deutsche Biogr.*, loc. cit.; *Notizie biografiche* about him, Modena, 1830.

² NOVAES, loc. cit., 190.

³ *Ibid.*, 217.

⁴ *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 3, 2394.

people to make war on the French, and overthrew the Republic.¹

Important services were also rendered by Giovanni Caprara, nuncio in Cologne and Lucerne, and Papal legate to Vienna in 1785, where at least he managed to prevent an open breach between the emperor and the Pope. His appointment as Cardinal on June 18th, 1792, was a reward for his past services, which were even greater under Pius VII., in the negotiations with Napoleon on the Concordat. It was he, too, who enabled Pius VI.'s corpse to be brought back to Rome.²

The last occasion on which the Senate of the Church was reinforced to any great extent by Pius VI. was in 1794.³ Of the eight who were chosen on February 21st seven were nobles from various towns in Italy. Antonio Dugnani, formerly nuncio in Paris, came from Milan ; Vincenti Mareri from Rea ; Giambattista Bussi from Urbino ; Francesco Maria Pignatelli from Naples ; Aurelio Roverella from Ferrara ; Giovanni Rinuccini from Florence ; and Filippo Lancellotti, a member of the princely di Lauro family, from Rome. The last-named died in the same year in which he was appointed. Along with these well-born gentlemen appears the son of a poor cobbler from the Venaissin who outshone them with his intellectual gifts : Jean Siffrein Maury. Maury first distinguished himself as a preacher, his most brilliant sermon being a panegyric of St. Vincent de Paul, which he had to repeat for the benefit of Louis XVI. He then became a historical figure through his activity in the National Assembly, where his influence rivalled that of Mirabeau. Pius VI. invited him to Rome, created him Cardinal *in petto* on September 26th, 1791, handed him in person the episcopal ring and pectoral cross at his consecration

¹ VON HELFERT, *Fabrizio Russo, Revolution und Gegenrevolution in Neapel, November 1798 bis August 1799*, Vienna, 1882 ; WEISS, *Weltgesch.*, XX⁴, 151 seqq. ; A. D. SACCHINELLI, *Memorie storiche* (about his life), Naples, 1876.

² F. WERNER, in *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, II², 1924 seq. ; NOVAES, *loc. cit.*, 232.

³ NOVAES, XVI., 2, 32.

as titular Archbishop of Nicaea, and sent him as nuncio extraordinary to the coronation of Emperor Francis II. at Frankfurt. On his return his cardinalate was promulgated and he was appointed Bishop of Montefiascone. Under Pius VII. Maury's behaviour was not so laudable. He supported Napoleon and accepted from him the Archbishopric of Paris. In the end he was pardoned by the Pope and died in Rome on May 11th, 1817.¹

The long series of cardinalitial nominations under Pius VI. ended on June 1st, 1795, with that of Giulio Maria della Somaglia, who was Bishop of Ostia and Velletri when he died on April 2nd, 1830.²

(4)

Under Pius VI. a number of new bishoprics were erected, mostly in Austrian territory. Maria Theresa proposed to make certain alterations in the ecclesiastical administration of Moravia, and on June 16th, 1773, Clement XIV. forbade³ the cathedral chapter of Olmütz to elect a successor to the reigning Bishop.⁴ Nevertheless, when the Bishop died on October 31st, 1776, Pius VI. restored its electoral right to the chapter, and on November 3rd he promoted the Bishop-elect to Archbishop,⁵ to whom the only suffragan see, that of Brünn, erected as a bishopric on December 5th, 1777,⁶ was subordinated.⁷ The

¹ *Œuvres choisies du card. Maury*, Paris, 1827; HERGENRÖTHER, *Maury*, Würzburg, 1878; RICARD, *L'abbé Maury 1746-1791*; *id.*, *Correspondance diplomatique et Mémoires inédits du card. Maury 1792-1817*, Paris and Lille, 1891.

² NOVAES, *loc. cit.*, 42.

³ For reasons unknown. WOLNÝ, *Kirchliche Topographie von Mähren*. I. Abt., Bd. I., Brünn, 1855, III.

⁴ *Bull. Cont.*, V., 596.

⁵ *Ibid.*, VI., I, 429.

⁶ GAMS, *Series*, 266.

⁷ The project of erecting a suffragan bishopric of Troppau was never realized. WOLNÝ, *loc. cit.*, 112.

archdiocese of Gran, in Hungary, was also too extensive, and in 1776, at Maria Theresa's desire, the bishoprics of Neusohl, Zips, and Rosenau were separated from it.¹ In the following year, also at the empress's instigation, there were set up in Hungary the dioceses of Steinamanger and Stuhlweissenburg and, for the Catholics of the Greek rite, the bishopric of Kreutz.² In 1780 conditions in the orphaned diocese of Grosswardein were restored to order.³

Under Joseph II. drastic changes were made in the diocesan partition of the empire. In 1784 the bishopric of Linz was brought into being by an arbitrary act of the emperor. The diocese of Passau, to which most of the Linz district belonged, was admittedly too extensive, stretching as it did from the Isar to the Hungarian frontier. On the death of the Bishop of Passau, Cardinal Firmian, on March 13th, 1783, Joseph II., without even consulting Rome, nominated the Jansenist-minded Count Ernst von Herberstein as Bishop of Linz, whose episcopal authority was to extend over the whole of Upper Austria. To keep the peace the Pope had no option but to sanction the imperial edict, which he did on January 28th, 1785.⁴ This was followed almost immediately by the erection of the bishopric of Budweis. Originally all Bohemia was under the rule of a single Bishop, that of Prague. Consequently, Emperor Ferdinand II. had considered the erection of four suffragan bishoprics, Budweis, Pilsen, Leitmeritz, and Königgrätz. But only in the two latter places had bishoprics been founded, in 1655 and 1664. Now, at Joseph II.'s instigation, Pius VI. gave the archdiocese of Prague a third suffragan

¹ All erected by Bulls of March 13, 1776, *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 205 *seqq.*, 208 *seqq.*, 211 *seqq.*

² By Bulls of July 16, 1777, *ibid.*, 348 *seqq.*, 351 *seqq.*, 355 *seqq.* Cf. GÉFIN GYULA, *A szombathelyi egyházmegye történeke*, Szombathely (Steinamanger), 1929.

³ Bull of August 8, 1780, *ibid.*, 705.

⁴ *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 2, 1328-1337. The Bull is dated "Annus Incarnationis 1784", i.e. "Annus Nativitatis 1785". Cf. HIPTMAIR, in *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, VII², 2078.

diocese by establishing that of Budweis on September 27th, 1785.¹ The excessive size of the old bishopric of Passau was also the reason for the imperial decision to establish a new bishopric at St. Pölten, in addition to that of Linz. At the same time the bishopric of Wiener-Neustadt, that hardly extended beyond the boundaries of the place, was abolished. The first Bishop of St. Pölten was the former Jesuit, Kerens, who until then had been Bishop of Wiener-Neustadt ; he was succeeded by another ex-Jesuit, Count von Hohenwart, who was afterwards Archbishop of Vienna. The imperial edict was approved by the Pope on January 28th, 1785.² In Galicia, at Joseph II.'s instigation, the bishopric of Tarnow was created, separate from Cracow.³ Joseph II.'s arbitrary interference in ecclesiastical affairs, which was blatantly conspicuous in the history of the foundation of these bishoprics, also led him to contest the hitherto undisputed right of the Pope to nominate the holders of the Lombard sees.⁴

Benedict XIV. had tried to remove the difficulties caused by the former patriarchate of Aquileia by dividing it into the German archbishopric of Gorizia and the Italian one of Udine.⁵ But now Joseph II. wanted Gorizia to be suppressed and Laibach elevated to a metropolitan see, while the bishopric of Gradisca was to take the place of the archbishopric of Gorizia. Pius VI. did what he wanted, but in 1791, at Leopold II.'s request, the episcopal see was moved back again to Gorizia.⁶ The diocese of Trieste, which had also been suppressed in 1788,

¹ *Bull. Cont., loc. cit.*, 1517-1524.

² *Ibid.*, 1322-8. This Bull also is dated from the year of the Incarnation. Cf. *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, X², 111, XII², 1567 ; A. KERSCHBAUMER, *Gesch. von St. Pölten*, I. (1875), 642, II. (1876), 151.

³ On March 11, 1785, *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 2, 1465 *seqq.*

⁴ Exhortation to the emperor, of December 15, 1781, *ibid.*, 888.

⁵ Cf. our account, vol. XXXVI., 98.

⁶ Erection of Laibach on March 8, 1788, *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 2, 1891-1901 ; of Gradisca on August 20, 1788, *ibid.*, 1976 ; removal back to Gorizia on September 12, 1791, *ibid.*, VI., 3, 2363.

was likewise revived at the imperial desire on September 16th, 1791.¹

On German soil the bishopric of Corvey, which was to have but a brief existence, was founded by Pius VI. Disputes had been going on for a long time between the Bishop of Paderborn and the Abbot of the famous monastery on the question whether the abbey's exemption applied also to its vicinity. The Pope had given his approval to a settlement between the two parties on November 24th, 1779,² and on April 23rd, 1792, he raised Corvey to a bishopric.³

In Italy, too, some changes in the diocesan arrangement had become desirable⁴; also in Spain⁵ and Poland.⁶ Lorraine received the two new bishoprics of Nancy and Saint-Dié,⁷ Savoy that of Chambéry.⁸

¹ *Ibid.*, 2366-2374.

² *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 626 *seqq.*

³ *Ibid.*, VI., 3, 2511-2522. For the proposal made in 1783 to erect a bishopric in Munich, *v.* STEINBERGER in the "Festgabe H. Grauert", Freiburg, 1910, 343-353.

⁴ Carpi became a bishopric on December 1, 1779 (*Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 632), Pontremoli on July 4, 1797 (*ibid.*, VI., 3, 3011), Camerino an archbishopric on December 17, 1787 (*ibid.*, VI., 2, 1876); Fabriano, already separated from Camerino, was joined to Matelica on July 8, 1785 (*ibid.*, 1484; GAMS, *Series*, 680, 704); the separation of Cagliari from Galtellina was annulled on June 21, 1779 (*Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 593); Malta became an archbishopric on March 3, 1797, *ibid.*, VI., 3, 2993. The archbishoprics of Palermo and Monreale were joined together by a Bull of July 7, 1775 (*ibid.*, 123 *seqq.*; *cf. ibid.*, 275 *seqq.*; GAMS, *loc. cit.*, 951 *seqq.*).

⁵ Erection of the bishopric of Tudela on March 27, 1783 (*Bull. Cont.*, VI., 2, 1188 to 1198), of Minorca on July 23, 1795 (*ibid.*, VI., 3, 2851-2860), of Ibiza on April 30, 1782 (*ibid.*, VI., 1, 963-970).

⁶ Erection of the bishopric of Warsaw on December 15, 1789 (*v.* GAMS, *loc. cit.*, 360), of Suprazl on March 4, 1798 (*ibid.*, 354), of Minsk on August 9, 1798 (*ibid.*, 361). For Mohilev, see above, pp. 165 *seqq.*

⁷ Bull for Nancy on December 13, 1777, *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 443-464, for St-Dié on July 21, 1777, *ibid.*, 375-393.

⁸ On August 18, 1779, *ibid.*, 606-612; GAMS, 828.

Still more pressing demands were met by the foundation of sees in America : Linares, in the Mexican province of Jalisco,¹ Sonora,² Habana,³ Guayana,⁴ Cuenca, in Ecuador,⁵ Mérida de Maracaibo, in Venezuela,⁶ and Pius VI.'s most important foundation in the New World, the bishopric of Baltimore.⁷

Apart from Baltimore, proposals for the erection of new sees all came from secular rulers, as also the suggestions for the diminution of feast-days. A beginning had already been made under Benedict XIV.⁸ with the restriction of their excessive number, and this was continued under Pius VI. in the most varied localities. Briefs in this sense were sent to the Uniat Greek Bishops of Austria,⁹ to many Latin Bishops of Poland,¹⁰ to several Bishops of Spain,¹¹ Portugal,¹² and Italy¹³; also to Lausanne,¹⁴ and to Goa,¹⁵ in India, and Bahia,¹⁶ in Brazil. Some German localities received similar concessions.¹⁷

(5)

The storm which beat against the religious Orders in France had arisen in the time of Clement XIII., and it was soon to

¹ On December 15, 1777, *Bull. Cont., loc. cit.*, 464-473.

² On May 7, 1779, *ibid.*, 566.

³ On September 10, 1787; GAMS, 152.

⁴ 1790, *ibid.*, 151.

⁵ On July 1, 1786, *ibid.*, 147.

⁶ On February 17, 1777, *ibid.*, 156.

⁷ *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 3, 3131; cf. below, pp. 418 *seqq.*

⁸ Cf. our account, vol. XXXV., 323.

⁹ On April 8, 1775, *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 43, cf. 42.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 65, 68, 70, 72, 74, 75, 77, 79, 80, 82, 84, 86, 87, 242.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 41; VI., 2, 1317, 1475, 1760, 1888, 1905.

¹² *Ibid.*, VI., 1, 949, 975, 981, 1076; VI., 2, 1201, 1456, 1666.

¹³ *Ibid.*, VI., 2, 1312, 1318, 1341, 1710; cf. VI., 1, 808; VI., 3, 2158.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, VI., 1, 671.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, VI., 2, 1742.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, VI., 3, 2283.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, VI., 1, 680, 901, 950.

destroy them completely. A presage of their final ruin was the Government's demand that the various associations should give themselves new constitutions.¹ Under Pius VI., too, several Orders received the Papal permission to proceed with the drafting of such constitutions; thus, the Discalced Carmelites,² the Capuchins,³ who had already decided on the new drafting of their laws on May 1st, 1771,⁴ and the Cluniacs.⁵ The French Celestines had undoubtedly decayed and had been pronounced incapable of improvement even by the Papal authority; consequently a number of French Bishops received Briefs from Pius VI. permitting them to dissolve the various houses of the Order.⁶ The venerable Benedictine Congregation of Cluny, which had been the stronghold of reform at the time of the investiture controversy, was also dissolved at the order of the Pope.⁷ To populate its thirty-eight monasteries in France it had only about two hundred religious. The buildings had fallen into disrepair, and the revenues were scanty.⁸ One flourishing branch, however, that of the Strict Observance, was allowed to continue.⁹ The famous Benedictine Congregation of St. Maur had also been severely injured by Jansenism and internal dissension, wherefore the Pope ordered an extraordinary General Chapter to be held,¹⁰ in the hope that this would restore religious discipline. The Knights Hospitallers of St. Antony, 222 of whom were distributed over

¹ Cf. our account, XXXVII., 386 *seqq.*

² On March 15, 1776, *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 216.

³ On August 28, 1776, *ibid.*, 288.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ On May 15, 1789, *ibid.*, VI., 3, 2055-2085.

⁶ Briefs for Orleans and Limoges, of May 22, 1776, for Clermont, of January 8, 1777, for Soissons, of February 1, 1780, for Paris, of November 10, 1789, *ibid.*, VI., 1, 239, 241, 306, 645; VI., 3, 2025.

⁷ On July 4, 1788, *ibid.*, VI., 2, 1921 *seqq.*

⁸ *Ibid.*, 2, 1922.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 3, 1922.

¹⁰ On March 27, 1787, *ibid.*, VI., 3, 1824.

thirty-one establishments, were joined to the Knights of Malta, which union was the cause of much subsequent dissension.¹

The condition of the Orders in Austria, Tuscany, and Naples was no less lamentable than in France.² Charles Emmanuel IV. of Sardinia was prominent among the Italian rulers in making serious attempts, immediately after ascending the throne in 1796, to effect a real improvement in the life of the religious in his realm. On July 18³ the Pope empowered him to have the Bishops suppress convents with less than eight inmates. In the following year the king received permission to effect the suppression, through the Bishops, of thirteen monastic houses at once.⁴ Charles Emmanuel's predecessor, Victor Amadeus, had also received Papal authority to reform houses which had decayed⁵; several of them had only five or six inmates, some as few as two. After their suppression their revenues were to be applied to seminaries and other good purposes. One of the Briefs dealing with this business throws an interesting light on conditions in the Mediterranean at this time. It was ruled that the revenues of two Hieronymite convents in Sardinia that had been suppressed were to be placed at the disposal of the king, who was to use them to protect the island against the pirates from the Barbary States. The island and the whole Mediterranean coast, it was said in the Papal authorization,⁶ was

¹ Briefs of December 17, 1776, and May 9, 1777, *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 299 *seqq.*, 326 *seqq.*; MASSON, 417 *seq.*

² See above, pp. 111 *seqq.*, 127 *seqq.*

³ Mentioned in the Brief of February 9, 1797, *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 3, 2986.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Briefs of September 14, 1787, September 12, 1788, and April 3, 1792, *ibid.*, VI., 2, 1860, 2002; VI., 3, 2496.

⁶ Of February 1, 1782, *ibid.*, VI., 1, 906 *seq.* Another Brief, of April 10, 1775, authorized the Bishop of Mazzara, in Sicily, to empower ordinary priests on the islands of Pantellaria and Favignana, which lay within his diocese, to administer confirmation, as the Bishop himself dared not visit the islands owing to the insecurity of the sea-passage. *Loc. cit.*, VI., 1, 51.

daily molested and marauded by the Berbers ; trade and importation had been brought to a stop, the merchantmen, with their cargoes and crews, fell into the hands of the infidel, and on the approach of the pirates the inhabitants had to take to flight and abandon everything.

In Portugal, after Pombal's fall from power, the religious orders seemed to be taking on a new lease of life. In quite a number of cases the Pope confirmed the new constitutions they had given themselves. They included the Carmelites,¹ the Augustinian Canons of the Congregation of Coimbra,² the Portuguese Congregation of the Hermit Paul,³ which received many privileges from Pius VI.,⁴ and the Franciscan Congregation of the Third Order,⁵ which, like the Portuguese branch of the Congregation of St. Camillus de Lellis,⁶ was separated from the rest of the Order and became autonomous. This came about as the result of requests made by the queen or the Government, who had not yet freed themselves from Pombal's ideas.

The same fate was prepared for the Order of St. Camillus by Charles III. of Spain. At his instigation all the establishments on Spanish soil, whether at home or abroad, were freed from obedience to the General, because he was a foreigner.⁷ In accordance with the royal desire, the two Carthusian monasteries in Spain were withdrawn from the control of the General, who resided in Grenoble.⁸ Every six years, at the General Chapter, the Augustinian Hermits had to elect a Vicar-General, who was to maintain religious discipline on Spanish territory at home and beyond the seas.⁹ The king also urged

¹ On March 7, 1783, *ibid.*, VI., 2, 1083-1168.

² On June 18, 1783, *ibid.*, 1227-1297.

³ On November 16, 1781, *ibid.*, 841-885.

⁴ *Ibid.*, VI., 1, 903, 984 ; VI., 2, 1337, 1349, 1435.

⁵ On February 29, 1780, *ibid.*, VI., 1, 651 ; *cf.* 1717.

⁶ On May 20, 1783, *ibid.*, VI., 2, 1219.

⁷ On January 29, 1793, *ibid.*, VI., 3, 2577.

⁸ Brief of March 10, 1774, *ibid.*, VI., 2, 1346 ; *cf.* VI., 3, 2955.

⁹ Brief of May 19, 1786, *ibid.*, 1711.

the reform of the Spanish Discalced Carmelites, who were given new constitutions.¹

In Poland a new Province of the Trinitarians was created.²

Pius VI.'s ordinances, especially in the case of Sardinia, show that he was glad to co-operate with the secular power when it was able to participate in effecting genuine reform in the life of the religious. The newly founded Congregations of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which were in no need of reform, he encouraged by showing them marks of favour. The Passionists, founded by Paul of the Cross, had found it necessary to alter some of their constitutions, including those which were over-strict ; these alterations the Pope confirmed.³ The Redemptorists, whose Institute had gone through hard times during his pontificate through the fault of the Neapolitan Government,⁴ were confirmed in their privileges.⁵ An ordinance issued for the Lazarists ⁶ is symptomatic of the times : authority to control the whole Congregation is transferred to the Superior of the Paris Province, since the proper General, John Felix Cayla, had to fly before the revolutionaries and it was not known if he was still alive. New constitutions were given by Pius to the Scalzetti,⁷ who had been founded under Benedict XIV.⁸, also to the Polish Congregation of the Immaculate Conception,⁹ which had been founded by Stanislaus Papozynski in 1670 for the purpose of teaching and to help with the cure of souls. To the Congregation of " Pious

¹ On March 14, 1786, *ibid.*, VI., 2, 1567-1666 ; *cf.* Brief of March 13, 1784, *ibid.*, 1348.

² Brief of May 26, 1782, *ibid.*, VI., 1, 970.

³ On October 17, 1775, and March 11, 1785, *ibid.*, 101, VI., 2, 1464, *cf.* 1501 ; LEHNERD, *Paul vom Kreuz*, Innsbruck, 1926, 117.

⁴ See below, pp. 371 *seqq.*

⁵ On August 21, 1789, *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 3, 2111.

⁶ On June 25, 1793, *ibid.*, 2638. Privileges for the Lazarists, *ibid.*, 2551.

⁷ On May 21, 1784, *ibid.*, VI., 2, 1365-1380.

⁸ *Cf.* our account, vol. XXXV., 311.

⁹ On March 27, 1787, *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 2, 1782-1795.

Women Teachers" (*Pie Maestre*) he transferred¹ the properties of two confraternities which had been suppressed. He prescribed² new constitutions for a society tending poor sick women and orphaned girls at Cività Vecchia, founded by the Dominican Giacinto Bambocci (d. 1768). A similar society at Ascoli, in Piceno, founded in 1744, received the Papal approval of its organization.³ The Carthusians received Papal commendation on still retaining their original strictness.⁴ The statutes of two Franciscan "Ritiri", where a particularly strict life was led, were ratified by Pius VI.⁵

(6)

In France, as the century advanced, there gradually approached its end the heretical movement that for a century and a half had been the most dangerous threat to the inner life of the Church and which had provoked more Papal edicts than any other doctrinal innovation. At its first appearance Jansenism had filled Vincent de Paul with the worst fears. Just as Protestantism, he said, had torn away one-half of Christendom from the Church, so this new heresy would destroy the other half within a hundred years.⁶ These gloomy forebodings did not come true. Often as the alliance between the ecclesiastical and civil power against this faction was impaired by Gallicanism, their combined efforts finally succeeded to a great extent in mastering the movement. Since the middle of the century there had hardly been a single Bishop that adhered to it,⁷ though several prelates, such as Montazet of Lyons and Fitzjames of Soissons, viewed it with favour.⁸ And since Alexander VII.'s formulary had again been presented

¹ On August 13, 1782, *ibid.*, VI., 1, 983.

² On June 21, 1776, *ibid.*, 256-269.

³ On December 6, 1777, *ibid.*, 440 *seq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, VI., 3, 2886.

⁵ On March 18, 1783, *ibid.*, VI., 2, 1169.

⁶ Letter of August 31, 1646, *Œuvres*, ed. Coste, III., 35.

⁷ *Cf.* our account, vol. XXXIV., 254 *seq.*

⁸ PRÉCLIN, 304.

for signature to every candidate for the priesthood,¹ Jansenistic priests were scarcely possible. From now on the mainstays of the party had taken only minor vows—Mésenguy, the “second Quesnel”, was only an acolyte—or they were plain laymen, such as parliamentary councillors or magistrates.² Supporters of the dying sect were still found in greatest numbers in Lyons, Soissons, and Paris.³

The Jansenist Church in Holland demanded the attention of Pius VI. when Bishop Van Stiphout of Haarlem died in 1777 and shortly afterwards Bishop Byevelt, of Deventer, followed him to the grave. Naturally, their sees were filled again, which compelled the Pope to utter the usual protests.⁴

Meanwhile, the number of the Dutch Jansenists had considerably dwindled. In 1763, when publishing various pieces of evidence in favour of the Jansenist Church, Archbishop Meindaerts had to complain in his introductory pastoral letter of July 25th of the falling away of many former supporters.⁵ Bishop Byevelt, of Deventer, had neither clergy nor parishes and lived with a cleric in the Beguinage at Rotterdam.⁶ The consecration of his successor was performed without ceremony.⁷ In 1779 the bishoprics of Utrecht and Haarlem together contained thirty-six parishes, with about 6,000 parishioners, as

¹ *Ibid.*, 303. Cf. our account, vol. XXXIV, 53 *seq.*, 413. Again in 1765 the assembly of the clergy renewed its demand that the formulary be signed. LAVISSE, IX., 160.

² PRÉCLIN, 305.

³ *Ibid.*, 304.

⁴ Brief of July 22, 1778, against Broeckman's election to Haarlem, in MOZZI, III., 203 *seqq.*; against his consecration on August 5, 1778, *ibid.*, 208 *seqq.*; Brief of January 18, 1779, against the election and consecration of Nicholas Nelleman as the Bishop of Deventer, *ibid.*, 212 *seqq.*

⁵ *Recueil des témoignages*, preface.

⁶ MOZZI, II., 457.

⁷ “Quam tamen (consecrationem) non illo quo Haarlemensem apparatu, sed privata clandestinaque caerimonia, tanquam ob suam ipse insolentiam erubesceret, est executus.” Pius VI. on January 18, 1779, in MOZZI, III., 214.

compared to the 340 parishes and 800 clerics of the Catholics in communion with Rome. In the city of Utrecht alone there were more of the latter than the total number of Jansenists. And these figures refer only to the Seven Provinces ; there were also the Dutch Catholics subject to the Bishops of Roermond, Antwerp, Bruges, Ghent, and the Vicar Apostolic of 's Hertogenbosch.¹

In France the sect was still in control of very large funds. The famous Pierre Nicole, who had died in 1695, had bequeathed 40,000 *livres* for Jansenistic purposes. The party funds, known as the *Boîte à Perrette*, were administered by Des Filletières, acting as trustee. When he died on October 4th, 1778, and his relatives, headed by President Rolland, contested his will, it became public knowledge that the fund had been increased by bequests and donations to over a million *livres*. This explains how the party was able not only to maintain its periodical, the *Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques*, and to distribute a mass of pamphlets free of charge, but also to publish copious records of its history. When the case was heard, Rolland admitted that he was a bitter enemy of the Jesuits and that they would never have been suppressed had he not sacrificed his time, his health, and his money to this object. The Jesuit business had cost him more than 60,000 *livres*.²

The activities of the Jansenist "convulsionaries" went on into the nineteenth century.³

Though the number of Jansenists in France had greatly diminished, the results of their activity had not yet disappeared. The destruction of the Society of Jesus had been due in large part to the literary campaign launched against it by the party. The practical elimination of Papal authority by the civil constitution of the clergy, the revolt of the priests against their Bishops, and of the laity against the clergy, all originated

¹ MOZZI, II., 460 *seq.* For the state of the "Oud Bisschoppelijk Klerezij" in modern times, *cf.* A. MALET in *Études*, CX. (1907), 241-272.

² PICOT, V., 65-70.

³ *Ibid.*, IV., 65 *seq.*

in the Jansenist theories of ecclesiastical authority.¹ With a few exceptions the Bishops opposed the party ; consequently, it tried to prove that it had no real need of them. In 1676 Jacques Boileau, the poet's brother, made the assertion that during his life on earth Christ had given the seventy-two disciples the same authority as he had given the twelve apostles, and that according to the Church Fathers the Church was to be governed jointly by Bishops and priests.² Quesnel accorded validity to excommunication only when it was pronounced with at least the presumed assent of the whole Church. This assent was also required for the election of the Bishops and the ratification of doctrinal decisions.³

¹ " L'activité des adversaires de la Bulle *Unigenitus*, manifestée par les développements successifs de la pensée richériste, a beaucoup contribué à la préparation, tant lointaine que prochaine, de la Constitution Civile. Les mémoires écrits lors de l'affaire des Bulles de 1718, le rétablissement en 1724 de l'archevêché d'Utrecht, les doctrines élaborées par les Jansénistes vers 1755, les canons des conciles d'Utrecht et de Pistoie, les conclusions du Code curial sont autant d'ébauches du rapport Martineau. Tous visent à affaiblir l'épiscopat, à régénérer le sacerdoce. A la première, à la troisième, à la cinquième de ces tentatives, la Constitution Civile a emprunté l'idée d'une dénonciation unilatérale du Concordat de 1516 et de l'édit de 1695. A l'école des canonistes audacieux de 1744, de 1755 et de 1780, elle a quelque peu confondu l'approbation et la juridiction. Elle n'en rejette pas moins l'idée cardinale, continuellement proclamée, du richérisme de tout le siècle : le droit pour le bas-clergé de participer au gouvernement de l'Église par le moyen des Synodes." PRÉCLIN, 489. Cf. LAVISSE, IX., 160 : " Ainsi le jansénisme inspirera aux Constituants de 1791 l'idée d'une organisation ecclésiastique conforme, pensaient-ils, à celle de l'Église primitive. La Constitution Civile du Clergé sera une sorte de revanche de la Constitution *Unigenitus*." Cf. *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CXXIV. (1889), 469 seqq., 558 seqq., 639 seqq., 703 seqq.

² PRÉCLIN, 22 seqq.

³ *Ibid.*, 26 seq. PRÉCLIN (p. 27) : " Le livre de Quesnel a, dans le développement du richérisme, la même importance que pour celui de la doctrine janséniste de la grâce." Cf. our account, vol. XXXIII., 199.

As time went on the supposed rights of the lower ranks of the clergy were defended by more and more Jansenist writers. One of the grounds on which the Bull against Quesnel was contested was that the truth of a dogma could only be proved by the unanimous testimony of the faithful, that the Bishops could not judge of the truth of a dogma independently of the testimony of the faithful, and that even the decisions of the General Councils had no binding power without the subsequent assent of the faithful.¹ In 1716 Nicolas le Gros, professor of theology at Rheims, announced that the Constitution *Unigenitus* had no validity, as the Bishops could not reconcile it with the faith of their Church.² The famous preacher Massillon complained that the most difficult points of dogma were being discussed by women and illiterates. Irreligion was thus being furthered ; for simple folk it was only a short step from discussion to doubt, and from doubt to disbelief.³ The next assertion to be made was that ordinary priests could hear confessions without obtaining faculties from the Bishop.⁴ One fact cited in support of the new ideas was that from very early times the Bishops had been called the "witnesses" to the truth of the various dogmas. According to the Catholic view, this meant that ordinary layfolk had no need to convince themselves of these truths by personal investigation but that in this respect they must rely on the unanimous word of the Bishops. The Jansenists, however, interpreted the expression differently. When matters of faith were in question the Bishops were only "witnesses" in so far as they had to ascertain and express what was generally believed in their dioceses. Dogma consisted of everything that was professed by the faithful as a whole.⁵ The Bishops had really nothing else to do but count the votes.⁶ The appeal

¹ VIVIEN DE LA BORDE, *Témoignage de la Vérité*, 1714. Cf. PRÉCLIN, 41.

² PRÉCLIN, 60.

³ *Ibid.*, 105.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 153, 223.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 43.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 68.

from the Pope to a General Council was an application of these principles, but at the same time it is clear that those that would appeal to a General Council would only have recognized as such a Council in which the ordinary priests were entitled to vote.¹ It was significant that the Jansenist Church organ, the *Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques*, maintained that the parish priests were the successors of the seventy-two disciples and that their mission came direct from Christ.²

(7)

While Jansenism was nearing its end in France, in Italy it had been waxing in the pontificate of Benedict XIV.³ Ricci's aims in Tuscany, the Council of Pistoia, and its condemnation by Pius VI., are palpable evidence of this.⁴ Alphonsus de' Liguori wrote in 1772⁵ that youth was being taught that it must follow Jansen and Quesnel, that no one went to confession any more in Naples or was listening to sermons, but that everyone was discussing problems of dogma and morals. Related to the Jansenist movement was rigorism, the exaggeration of moral demands by certain moral theologians who represented as a universal duty what can only be a matter of higher perfection. Not all rigorists are Jansenists, but the growth of this excessive strictness had its roots in Jansenistic ways of thinking, and it was not till Jansenism grew strong that rigorism was of any consequence in Italy. Already in the time of Benedict XIV. moral theology was being taught in the Propaganda according to the textbooks of the Jesuit Antoine, who was designated a rigorist by Alphonsus de' Liguori.⁶ The brothers Ballerini, the famous editors of the

¹ Cf. our account, vol. XXXIII., 236, 257, 263 *seq.*, 276, 287, *et al.*

² PRÉCLIN, 137.

³ Cf. our account, vol. XXXV., 381 *seqq.*

⁴ Cf. above, pp. 127 *seqq.*

⁵ DILGSKRON, II., 249.

⁶ "Recentior inter rigidos auctores." *Theol. mor.*, lib. V., n. 610 (2^a sententia).

works of St. Leo, were also representatives of the strict way of thinking.

A controversy between Dominicans and Jesuits on the question of probabilism, which lasted for several decades, arose in 1727 as the result of a difference of opinion about the lawfulness of mental reservation.¹ The foremost champion on the Dominican side was Daniel Concina.² An irreproachable religious, Concina had at first devoted himself to preaching; he then took to the pen and produced in rapid succession forty works, which, however, needed elaboration. Moreover, this "talented and industrious writer"³ allowed himself to be spurred on by his admirers to launch one attack after another on the Jesuits.⁴ A polemic treatise on a question concerned with the discipline of fasting provided him with the opportunity to concern himself with probabilism. In a reply the Jesuit Monti advised him to study the relevant works of Segneri and Elizalde. This he did, and in 1743, after overcoming serious obstacles within his own Order in the matter of censorship, he published his *Storia del Probabilismo e Rigorismo*, in which he sought to prove that probabilism was founded on false principles and was likely to corrupt Christian morals. Naturally the Jesuits did not accept this in silence nor did Concina fail to reply to them. In dedicating to Benedict XIV. a treatise on the prohibition of interest he asked the Pope to condemn 330 moral propositions compiled by Cardinal Belluga, and 200 others in addition. Then in the introduction to his great work on moral theology⁵ he again proposed the rejection of 528 propositions, 248 of which were defended by Jesuits.⁶ Another work of Concina's proscribed

¹ DÖLLINGER-REUSCH, I., 303 seqq.; REUSCH, *Index*, II., 816 seqq.

² COULON in the *Dict. de théol. cath.*, III., 676-707.

³ DÖLLINGER-REUSCH, I., 305.

⁴ Cordara in DÖLLINGER, *Beiträge*, III., 9.

⁵ *Theologia christiana dogmatico-moralis*, Rome and Venice, 1749.

⁶ JEMOLO, 209; DÖLLINGER-REUSCH, I., 314.

the frequenting of theatres,¹ and in his *Apology of the Society of Jesus* there were published for the first time the documents relating to the dispute about probabiliorism that had broken out during the generalship of Tirso Gonzalez.²

Concina could certainly be proud of the favourable reception his books had met with at the hands of scholars.³ Benedict XIV., who was inclined towards the strict view of things, praised his *Storia del Probabilismo*, and his *Theologia Christiana* opens with a dedication to the Pope. Nevertheless Benedict did not definitely side with the Dominican theologian. When the Jesuit General Visconti lodged a complaint about Concina's *Christian Theology* and submitted a list of the most objectionable passages, with a request that they should be censured,⁴ the Pope, it is true, did not accede to this request but he allowed that Concina had wrongly ascribed extreme views to

¹ *De spectaculis theatralibus christiano cuique tum laico tum clerico vetitis*, 1752. Cf. *Theol. christiana*, IX., 667: "Quod histriones et comoedi absolvi non debeant, nisi prius artem deserant, neque in controversiam vocari a theologo christiano debet. De christianis, qui hodierna theatra frequentant, disputari forte a quibusdam posset. Verum ego post diuturnum studium neminem theatra adire permetterem, neque absolverem, nisi ab hodiernis theatris abstinere vellet. Frequentantes enim theatra alunt et sustentant comoedos, quorum ars infamis est."

² Cf. our account, vol. XXXII., 435 seqq. The following rules for penances to be imposed by confessors may serve as examples of Concina's severity. "Regula a me praescripta (for persons with no occupation) benignissima est. Canones poenitentiales modo quatuor, modo septem, modo quindecim annos in continuis vigiliis, ieiuniis, eleemosynis, cinere et ciliciis transigendos imponunt. Ego sic tempero hunc rigorem, ut imponam pro quolibet adulterio quatuor ieiunia in pane et aqua, aut ieiunia consueta... Si (labourers or artisans) in nefandum crimen labantur, poterit prudens confessarius iniungere, ut pane et aqua contenti sint: si id labores non permittant, poterit iubere abstinentiam a vino aut ab obsonio, aut humi cubationem." *Theol. christ.*, IX., 419 seq., 425.

³ COULON, *loc. cit.*, 692.

⁴ *Papal Secret Archives, Regolari, Gesuiti, 20 (58).

several Jesuits, as he had ascertained for himself by examining certain quotations.¹ Concina had to sign a public statement and have it printed in one of the subsequent volumes of his work.² Benedict also advised the Jesuits to compile an extract of Concina's offensive allegations, mutilations of texts, and the like.³ In general, however, he disapproved of this relentless warfare between two famous Orders, which could do so much for the public good if only they acted in concert.⁴ When Concina died in Venice on February 20th, 1756, Benedict wrote to Cardinal Tencin⁵ that the famous Dominican could have been of great use with his vast knowledge if he had not allowed himself to be dragged too far by the enemies of the Jesuits. His writings were full of spiteful accusations, and some of his propositions were untenable. He had thus incurred the censure and disdain of respectable people. Naturally Concina's attacks on probabilism provoked a whole series of replies from the Jesuits, but there was little to be gained by mere polemics; no decision could be reached until Concina's vast work was superseded by a more thorough exposition of the whole of moral theology. This was done by Alphonsus de' Liguori, and with such a mastery of the subject that it put an end for ever to the age-old dispute about morals, at least in its traditional form.⁶

¹ To Tencin, December 15, 1751, and January 5, 1752; DE HEECKEREN, II., 157, 162.

² Vol. XI.; cf. REUSCH, *Index*, II., 821 seq.; relevant documents in the Papal Secret Archives, *loc. cit.*

³ C. NOCETI, *Veritas vindicata*, II., Venetiis, 1757.

⁴ To Tencin, June 9, 1756; DE HEECKEREN, II., 505. Ten years previously Benedict had written to Cardinal Quirini: "Circa il P. Concina si rivede la sua opera e si vorrebbe che uscendo uscisse senza metter fuoco." FRESCO, XVIII., 297.

⁵ On March 3, 1756, in DE HEECKEREN, II., 482 seq.

⁶ *Opere*, Monza, 1819, Torino, 1824, and many subsequent editions. Critical edition of the *Opera moralia* by L. GAUDÉ, Rome, 1905-7; Latin translation of the dogmatic works by A. WALTER, Rome, 1903; *Lettere di S. Alfonso Maria de' Liguori*, 3 vols., Rome, 1887; CANDIDO ROMANO, *Delle opere di S.A.d.L.*, Rome, 1896. Biographies by K. DILGSKRON, Regensburg, 1887;

By his whole nature and disposition Alphonsus seems to have been predestined to be the exact opposite of the Jansenistic spirit. While men of the type of Jansen, Saint-Cyran, Arnauld, Pascal, and Quesnel, when they emerged from their narrow and confined studies to influence their fellow-humans, aimed above the heads of common folk at the educated, refined, and well-to-do, Alphonsus, though a scholar too and one of outstanding worth, and of greater importance on his own account than all the Jansenists put together, was first and foremost a minister of souls. Far removed from the strait-laced spirit of the Jansenists, who were really worried lest the number of the elect be too great, he lived and moved entirely in the spirit of love, he was filled with pity for the poor people whose distress and suffering he realized. He wanted to show the way to salvation and to open the gates of heaven for as many as possible. The contrast showed itself in other ways. Jansenism sinned against the mercy of God, whom it represented as a tyrant, against the love of Christ who, according to its doctrine, died only for a chosen few; it looked askance at the veneration of God's mother, it withheld itself from the reception of the sacraments and from submission to the ecclesiastical authority; but Alphonsus was the very reverse of all this. For him the love of God was everything. "Come on!" he wrote,¹ "let us seek God alone, alone, alone, and

BERTHE, Paris, 1900; A. PICHLER, Regensburg, 1922; J. ANGOT DES ROTOIRS, Paris, 1921; cf. *Dict. de théol. cath.*, I., 920; F. MESSERT, *Der hl. A.v.L. als Kirchenlehrer und Apologet*, Mainz, 1901; K. KEUSCH, *Die Aszetik des hl. A.v.L.*, Friburg, Switzerland, 1924 (in the bibliography of this work, pp. xxix-xxxix, are further monographs on Liguori); PALMIERI, in the *Dict. d'hist. et de géogr. eccl.*, II., 715-735 (on pp. 727 seqq., is a list of the works, on pp. 732 seqq., a bibliography); J. MAYER, in the *Lexicon f. Theol. u. Kirche*, I., 262 seqq.; G. BRANDHUBER, *Die Redemptoristen 1732-1932. Festgabe zur 200-Jahr-Feier*, Bamberg, 1932; CLEM. M. HENZE, C.S.S.R., *Die Redemptoristinnen. Zur zweiten Jahrhundertfeier der Gründung des Ordens*, Bonn, 1931.

¹ To the nun Maria Giovanna della Croce, on September 26, 1736, *Lettere*, I., 58.

nothing else ! ” “ For what else are we given life but to give it back to God ? ” ¹ Jesus, Mary, and the Eucharist were the stars round which his soul revolved. His energy was devoted to the service of the sacrament of penance and of frequent Communion. His writings were of importance in other spheres than moral theology. The nineteenth century was a notable one in the evolution of dogma in a twofold respect : all doubt was removed from the questions of Papal infallibility and the Immaculate Conception. For both these dogmas very much of the necessary preliminary study was contained in Liguori's writings. And he has also marked out the lines on which the doctrine of the Mother of God has been developed in the most recent times.

Liguori's achievement was not due solely to his natural talents. Born in 1696 at Marianella, near Naples, of a pious and noble but not over-wealthy family, he was put to study under private tutors by his father, a captain in the royal galleys, and was kept at it with inexorable severity. Under this hard discipline, diligence, not one of the typical virtues of the Neapolitan, became a main feature of Alphonsus's character. Latin, Greek, and Spanish, mathematics, geography, and cosmography had to be learnt by this highly-gifted boy. In addition, the father insisted on his learning music, especially the piano ; as it happened, Alphonsus had an aptitude for music, painting, and poetry ; his spiritual verses show a genuine poetical talent.² This preliminary education over, he turned to jurisprudence, again under private tuition ³ ; the pleasures of the school-bench, with its dangers for independent thinking, were never tasted by the future

¹ To a novice, August 7, 1755, *ibid.*, 306.

² PICHLER, 15 *seq.* For the publication of a musical composition by him, *cf.* *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XLIX. (1895), 441 *seq.* The poems, with a Latin translation by F. X. REUSS, Rome, 1896 ; German translation of a selection by A. PICHLER, Münster, 1899, 3rd ed., 1904.

³ For the alarming conditions at the university, *v.* PICHLER, 19 ; for the theological lectures there, *ibid.*, 59 ; ORIGLIA, *Istoria dello studio di Napoli*, II. (Napoli, 1753), 243.

pioneer in moral theology. At sixteen he was a doctor of law. He then gained practical experience of legal procedure and was so successful as a barrister that in 1723 the Duke of Gravina engaged him in a suit against the Grand Duke of Tuscany, in which two and a half million *lire* were involved. Liguori's brilliant reasoning seemed to be carrying all before it until the opposing advocate drily remarked that the case was being tried according to Lombard, not Neapolitan, law. This fiasco so upset Alphonsus that he never undertook another case. To be so humiliated in a *cause célèbre*, before a large public and to the knowledge of the whole city, wounded his lively susceptibility so severely that the whole forensic career, with all the laurels he had won hitherto, now disgusted him completely. After some months spent in quiet retirement he heard an inner voice calling him to the ecclesiastical state. With his father's consent, gained only after a wearisome struggle, he renounced his right of primogeniture and began the study of theology—but not at a university—and he dedicated himself, amid many external rigours, to the cure of souls. On December 21st, 1726, he was ordained priest.

There now began for him a period of intense and fruitful activity as a preacher, confessor, and missionary, and in particular this highly educated young patrician devoted himself to the poorest and most derelict classes of the population. These labours led almost automatically to the formation of a special society dedicated to the spiritual care of the lowest strata of society.

It was in the Chinese College of Matteo Ripa, where Alphonsus was lodging,¹ that he met the man who was to have the greatest influence on the next phase of his career. Tommaso Falcoja, a member of the Congregation of the Pious Workmen (*Pii Operarii*),² felt that he was called to found a Congregation whose special aim would be the imitation of Christ in both a hidden and an active life. This ideal he had

¹ Cf. our account, vol. XXXIV., 467 ; cf. XXXIII., 366, n. 7, XXXIV., 169.

² Cf. our account, vols. XXVII., 125 ; XXXV., 304 ; *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, I², 1231.

realized in part, through the instrumentality of a female Congregation at Scala, near Amalfi. As it happened, Alphonsus went to Scala with some friends, for a rest, and it was there that he came to know the nuns in the little convent, in particular Maria Celeste Crostarosa.¹ It was there too that he became aware of the spiritual penury of the goatherds round about. Falcoja succeeded in securing him as the corner-stone, as it were, of the male Congregation he also had in mind. In this the visions beheld by Crostarosa also played their part, but not the decisive one.²

Naturally objections were raised on every side when it was known that the well-born Alphonsus, who was practically certain of a Bishop's mitre, intended to quit the capital to live among the rudest of peasants and shepherds. But Alphonsus stood fast, and on November 9th, 1732, there arose at Scala a humble little monastery, the germ of the Redemptorist Congregation, which was to grow and spread from there with ever increasing vigour. He himself bore witness to its vast effect.³

But its growth was impeded by great difficulties. All Liguori's first companions left him, except for one lay-brother. The king's good favour notwithstanding, to attempt to found a new Order under Tanucci's rule seemed a hopeless undertaking. In 1747, in the tremendous heat of a Neapolitan summer, Alphonsus hurried from palace to palace to obtain sanction for his community. In his ardour he forgot to eat or sleep, but he spent himself in vain. Bargaining with the Ministers, he wrote,⁴ made him seethe with rage; life had become a burden to him, but he would have to stick it out in Naples. In 1748 he obtained the ecclesiastical sanction from Benedict XIV.⁵ but he still had to get the royal *exequatur* for

¹ Cf. Buchberger's *Lexikon für Theol. u. Kirche*, III., 84.

² "I am not guided by visions; my standard is the Gospel," said Alphonsus (PICHLER, 129). "I have no confidence in your visions" (Falcoja to Crostarosa; *ibid.*, 139).

³ *Lettere*, I., 189; II., 284 *seq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, I., 138; DILGSKRON, I., 299 *seqq.*

⁵ Cf. our account, vol. XXXV., 311.

the Papal Brief. With difficulty he secured a royal decision on November 9th, 1752, which at least precluded the dissolution of the community, though it had to renounce all revenues.¹

In 1762, while retaining his position as the chief Superior of his Congregation, Alphonsus was nominated Bishop of S. Agata dei Goti, but the difficulties with the Government still persisted. The times were so turbulent, he wrote, that there was no hope of any definite authorization by the king ; he would have to trust in God and live from day to day. In Naples "fearful ordinances" were being issued against the poor churches every day.²

The worst trials, however, which Alphonsus had to undergo were after he had resigned his bishopric at the age of eighty-one. Tanucci fell in 1776, and his successor was more favourably inclined towards the Congregation ; consequently, when on November 21st, 1778, Pius VI. extended to Naples the privileges of the Spanish Crusade Bull, the promulgation of the concession was conveyed to Alphonsus and his missionaries.³ Encouraged by this mark of favour, Liguori's consultors, Majone and Cimino, proposed to apply for the royal approval of the Rule for the Congregation. Alphonsus agreed to a draft Rule being presented which would meet with no objection from the Government, but he intended this concession to be limited to the omission, out of regard for the royal decrees of 1752 and 1779,⁴ of any mention of revenues for the Congregation. On this supposition and being by now half deaf and half blind, he did not examine carefully the draft that was presented, and so was utterly cast down and almost crushed on learning of the Rule that had been ratified by the king. Majone and Cimino had far exceeded their mandate, and the new Rule practically transformed the whole Congregation into a civil association. Luckily for Alphonsus, the Congregation already had some establishments outside Neapolitan territory, in the Papal States, and for these the former Rule still held

¹ DILGSKRON, I., 382 *seqq.*

² To Blasucci, September 8, 1771, *Lettere*, II., 186.

³ DILGSKRON, II., 347.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I., 386 ; II., 346.

good. On September 22nd, 1780, the cardinalitial Congregation for Bishops and Religious decreed the separation of the establishments in the Papal States from those in the kingdom of Naples. The founder was thus cut off from his own foundation. The Redemptorists in Naples lost the Papal privileges, but they were restored to them by the Pope in April, 1783, "as a special favour." The separation was still in force when Liguori died on August 1st, 1787, the *Regolamento* not being revoked till 1790.¹

It was only in the latter part of his life, when he realized that he no longer had the strength to perform the arduous work of the missions, that Alphonsus began the literary labours with which he hoped to continue his cure of souls. His great work of learning, the *Moral Theology*, also owed its origin to a practical need. Just as Thomas Aquinas intended his *Summa* for beginners, Alphonsus wanted to put into the hands of future members of his Congregation a guide for the administration of the sacrament of penance. His aim, therefore, was not to evolve, with brilliant acumen, a system of moral science from the profoundest philosophic principles, but to train confessors capable of forming a correct judgment of the difficult cases that occur in actual life and of applying a suitable treatment to them. A large part of Liguori's moral works are consequently devoted to casuistry, that is the elucidation of individual cases. This inevitably involved the discussion of the seamy side of human life, including those features of it in which human weakness is known by experience to reveal itself most frequently. Not that Alphonsus took any pleasure in plumbing these depths, but because this unpleasant side of human life is a reality which, like any other, needs the hand of an expert healer.

What distinguishes Alphonsus in his treatment of cases of conscience is the clear judgment and the sure hand with which he picks out, from among the divergent views of his predecessors, what is licit and what is not, what is lax and what is over-strict. In this respect he is quite unique, and it is this

¹ Cf. *ibid.*, II., 352 *seqq.*

sureness of judgment on which his influence in the Church is based. Certainly the eminent position he has won for himself in the sphere of moral theology is not entirely due to his display of knowledge, effective though it is. His views were finally triumphant because of the way in which his life-work was recognized by the Holy See. On May 18th, 1803, when his beatification was being considered, Pius VII. confirmed the declaration of the Congregation of Rites that there was nothing deserving of censure in Liguori's writings. On July 5th, 1803, when Liguori's ethics were meeting with a certain resistance in France, as being too lenient, as endangering the salvation of souls, and as being inconsonant with sound doctrine, the Penitentiary declared that teachers of moral theology might adopt Liguori's views without misgiving, and that confessors who were guided by them had no need to be uneasy. Finally, on July 7th, 1871, Pius IX. proclaimed Alphonsus as a Doctor of the Church, not exclusively, but certainly principally, on account of his works on moral theology.

Under the ægis of the Roman See these writings have exercised an influence the importance of which can hardly be overestimated. As for the decision of particular cases, the confessor has been given a reliable guide in the most disputed and practically most important questions, and an end has been put to much wavering and doubt. As for the scientific treatment of moral theology, a new era began with Alphonsus. Former works were collected and sifted, and a firm foundation has been laid, and guiding principles have been provided, for further progress. In accepting the moral theologians of the two preceding centuries, Alphonsus corrected and rejected the conception held by Concina and his followers that the whole course taken by moral theology since the end of the sixteenth century was a deviation from the right path and that in these matters a return should be made to the doctrines of the first nine centuries.¹ Judgment was also passed on Concina's

¹ " Utinam non paucorum casuistarum, ut vocant, voluminibus de medio sublati sola, quae novem circiter primis religionis

attack on probabilism in particular as the source of all sin and evil¹ when Rome gave its decision on Alphonsus's works, since the latter's failure to follow the rigorists was no obstacle to Rome's approval.

This approval, it is true, was not given directly to Liguori's moral system but to his particular decisions, and without reference to the various editions of his moral theology. But indirectly some light falls too on his choice of a moral system. At first, as he tells us himself, he was, like his teachers, an adherent and ardent defender of probabiliorism. But after he had discovered in the missions its impracticability in actual life and he had studied the probabilist theologians, especially the Jesuits, he veered over to probabilism.² It was not until he and his Congregation were suspected of being Jesuits in disguise

nostrae saeculis viguit, tradendae saluberrimae morum disciplinae ratio obtineret." *Theol. christ.*, I., Roma, 1749, Praefatio, p. ii. Alphonsus usually polemizes against the "severissimus Concina" (lib. 1, tr. 2, n. 174) indirectly.

¹ "Dicam itaque, elapsum iam saeculum cum dimidio et amplius esse, ex quo christiana morum doctrina pravarum opinionum impetu et atrocissimas persecutiones sustinet a novo illo opinandi modo, quem Alexander VII . . . cum evangelica simplicitate, sanctorumque Ecclesiae Patrum doctrina hostiliter pugnantes declaravit, quemque ingentem corruptelam ultimasque clades Reipublicae christianae parituros praedixit, si fideles eundem pro conscientiarum normam sequerentur. Sequuntur vero illum non minus constantissime quam libentissime. Fluit et refluit, et quidem cursu rapido per universum casuisticae theologiae corpus modus iste, nullumque pene est membrum cui mortalia vulnera non infligat: nullus vastissimae scientiae tractatus illaesus evasit. Non iura scripta modo pervertit, sed insculptam etiam in mentibus hominum a natura legem magna in parte obliteravit." *Loc. cit.* "Modus hic opinandi a simplicitate evangelica alienus probabilismus est, quem cum SS. Pontifice universa Gallicana ecclesia tanquam omnium vitiorum malorumque fontem execravit. Ab hac igitur syrtis . . . declinandum omnino est. Modus hic opinandi adeo nihil curat veritatem, ut immo id, quod ad veritatem propius accedit, respuat." *Ibid.*, p. xxxii.

² DILGSKRON, I., 473.

and his doctrine was dubbed Jesuit morality, that he tried to draw away as far as possible from the Jesuits. Whether, nevertheless, the moral system that he now developed differs from pure probabilism in any other respect than mere formulation, is difficult to say. In any case, the difference is of no great practical importance; Alphonsus continued to cite the same probabilist theologians as before, even in the later editions of his *Moral Theology*, and in 1765 he said explicitly that, after his rejection of probabiliorism, he had always kept to his system.¹

This question of a moral system has also been dealt with by Alphonsus in special works which are of the greatest importance for the clarification of the matter. There is an enormous difference between former apologies for probabilism and Liguori's treatises. He has read the former dissertations with a critical eye, expurgated what was doubtful and misleading, and built up everything on firm foundations.²

Besides composing his great work on morals, Alphonsus also made abstracts from it to serve as manuals for confessors. There are also dozens of smaller works, varying in volume, of an apologetic or ascetic content. Having taken a vow never to

¹ On this point, v. J. DE BLIC, in the *Dictionnaire apologétique de la foi catholique*, IV., Paris, 1922, 321-7; V. CATHREIN, in the *Theol.-prakt. Quartalschr.*, 1905, 745 seqq.; GÖPFERT, *Moraltheologie*⁸, Paderborn, 1920, 147 seqq. Cf. LEHMKUHL, in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XXXIII. (1887), 358 n.: "One ought not to try and conceal under the shield of the authority of a Doctor of the Church the sense of certain theoretic propositions of the Saint, which is in contradiction to the practical application of these propositions by the Saint himself... Equiprobabilism, as St. Alphonsus understands it and *applies* it, certainly does not lead to erroneous and pernicious propositions. In practice there is no difference between it and probabilism pure and simple." H. NOLDIN says in the *Zeitschr. für kath. Theol.*, XX. (1896), p. 92: "Actually, equiprobabilism is only another name for plain probabilism."

² LUDWIGS, in the *Zeitschr. für kath. Theol.*, II. (1878), 538; III. (1879), 286.

waste a minute of his time, he employed the enforced leisure of his old age in working with his pen. Bent double in his chair or confined to his bed, he wrote for seven or eight hours a day, refuting Voltaire and Febronius or defending religion, the Church, and Papal infallibility. But his main output was a whole series of ascetic writings intended for every class of person: the ordinary Christian, the priest, and the religious. In this way he attended to practically every form of spiritual life.¹ In these works Alphonsus refrained from any kind of

¹ A survey of the apologetic and aesthetic works is given by J. KANNENGIESER in the *Dict. de théol. cath.*, I., 915-18; list of the aesthetic works in KEUSCH, *loc. cit.*, 66-72 (Keusch estimates the total number of the works, either entirely original or revised, at 260). Cf. P. POURRAT, *La spiritualité chrétienne*, IV³, Paris, 1928, 449-492. Alphonsus has often been blamed for being credulous as regards miracles and visions, but in his own life and in his cure of souls he was nothing of the kind. He wrote to a nun who was frightened of ghosts that the dead had other things to do than to appear to the living. She was to put all such fancies out of her head. "Vi assicuro io che nella vostra cella non avrete nè morti nè demoni." (*Lettere*, II., 47.) When urged to bless a girl who was thought to be possessed, he refused to do so, saying: "Evil spirits! What next? Tell her to make a good confession." (PICHLER, 372.) He related with approval a saying about visions attributed to St. Teresa: "Licet aliquae ex eis sint verae, plures nihilominus sunt falsae et mendaces." (*Homo apostolicus*, Regensburg, 1843, 20.) Cf. above, p. 371, n. 2. The stories of miracles he related in his *Glorie di Maria* he usually qualified with some such introductory phrase as "Si narra", or "Narrasi", thus leaving all the responsibility to the original informants. Undoubtedly, however, very many of these stories would not be appreciated by a modern audience. In quoting from authors in the following way he wanted to show that what mattered to him was that the quotations dated from early times and that they were substantially correct: "S. Girolamo, o come altri vogliono, altro autore antico" (*Glorie di Maria*, Pt. I., ch. 5, par. 1 [Roma, 1839], p. 127); "S. Agostino, o chi altro sia l'autore del commento nella Genesi" (*ibid.*, Pt. II., feste disc. 1, p. 266); "S. Cipriano, o chi altro ne sia l'autore" (*ibid.*, p. 283); "Hieron. aut Sofronius,

scholarly polish and tried to write as simply and intelligibly as possible. One could with full justice apply to them the comment made on his learned works by one who knew them well : " One might think that sometimes he deliberately tried to hide his talent and learning under the most unassuming style." ¹ Despite their modest form these little works of his had an immeasurable effect. They were translated into many languages, and hundreds of thousands of copies were distributed.² They were read with pleasure, not only by the simple Christian but also by such men as Bishop Ketteler³ and O'Connell.⁴ The secret of their success is the profound conviction of the eternal truths with which they were written ; one feels that their author was wholly permeated by them and that what he wrote came straight from his heart.

Alphonsus had laboured thus, first as a missionary, then as a writer, until he was over eighty years of age, and still he had another crown to win. Old as he was, he had yet to bear a load of suffering such as would have overwhelmed the majority of men. Still retaining all his mental alertness, he had to keep to his chair, bent double, a helpless cripple, half deaf and half blind. Until he died he had to watch the child of his cares and sorrows, his Congregation, to which he was attached with the tenderness of a mother, hovering on the brink of the abyss, never certain for a moment that it was not on the point of destruction. Added to this was the torture of anxiety about himself : the fear that God would punish his Congregation on account of his sins, anxiety about his own salvation, scruples that made him fear that he was continually sinning. He was not scrupulous in deciding for others but in

serm. de ass." (*ibid.*, virtù, par. 2, p. 472) ; " S. Bern. aut quisq. est auctor super Salve Regina " (*ibid.*, p. iii).

¹ A. LEHMKUHL in the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XXXIII. (1888), 359.

² J. L. JANSEN, C.S.S.R., *Testimonia de sancti Alfonsi Mariae de Ligorio in Ecclesiae catholicae doctrinam atque vitam influxu*, Galopiae (Gülpen), 1928, 22.

³ O. PFÜLF, *Ketteler*, I., 212 ; III., 359.

⁴ JANSEN, *loc. cit.*, 41.

the judgment of his own case the light failed him. He was to experience himself what he had once written to a nun¹: contradiction, sickness, scruples, aridity of soul, and every other inward and outward affliction are, as it were, the chisel with which God sculptures statues for paradise.

Liguori's strength of soul showed itself more clearly now, perhaps, at this time of utter helplessness, than ever before. Others would have collapsed under this enormous load of suffering or would have lost their reason. But not Alphonsus. In his case, everything that in the human being is frail and uncontrollable might be sunk in a sea of affliction, nevertheless, he still retained—a sight for the angels—the one thing that was still within his power: his free will. Soaring high above this sea, in full mental vigour and with clear circumspection, his will disposed of all this suffering, as a general disposes of his troops, for the advancement of his soul and the furtherance of the kingdom of God.

Alphonsus had been strong-willed all his life. While other men of his standing had been kept away from the common people by pride of birth, he despised these prejudices in his desire to serve the poorest and most abandoned. While the educated and learned, more than anyone else, bent like reeds before the wind that blew from the camp of Voltaire, Rousseau, Giannone, and Febronius, he held fast to the Church and the Pope. When probabilism had been so discredited that anyone who still adhered to it was looked on as a fool, he had the independence of mind to discern what was true in the dissertations of the moralists who had immediately preceded him and to defend this truth. No time seemed more unfavourable for the growth of holiness than the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, Alphonsus did win this most glorious crown. Of this impious century he was the greatest and most imposing figure.

¹ Brianna Carafa, September 8, 1773, *Lettere*, II., 250. *Ibid.*, 554, 624, 634, 654, he speaks himself of his condition.

CHAPTER VII.

THE MISSIONS UNDER PIUS VI.

(1)

LIKE his predecessor, Pius VI. was often in receipt of good news from the Near East. In 1781, in Imeretia, a kingdom bordering on Georgia, King Solomon allowed the Catholic faith to be preached without hindrance.¹ In Georgia itself the Catholicos Antonius, the most distinguished Georgian of the eighteenth century, who had also helped to improve the civil government, returned to the Roman Church on his death-bed in 1788. In 1775, however, the Catholics had been persecuted for several months and laws had been made against conversion to Catholicism. After Georgia had become a vassal state of Russia in 1783 and the Russian Czar had assumed the title of King of Georgia in 1799, the mission had no hope of success.²

There were also signs of a movement towards union with Rome among the Jacobites of Syria. Dionysius Michael Giarve, Bishop of Aleppo, had returned to the Catholic Church. After the death of the Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch, Gregory III., a violent persecutor of the Catholics, Giarve repaired to Mardin and succeeded in winning over to union with the Roman Church four Jacobite Bishops, the whole of the Jacobite clergy in the town, and many of the laity. The four Bishops who had gone over to Rome then elected Giarve Syrian Patriarch of Antioch, and the electors and elected, together with the Chaldean Patriarch of Diarbekr, Joseph IV., the Armenian Archbishop Petrus Eleazar of Mardin, and the missionaries of Mesopotamia, Aleppo, and Constantinople, applied to the Pope for his confirmation of Giarve's election

¹ NOVAES, XVI., 1, 61.

² K. LÜBECK, *Georgien und die kath. Kirche*, Aachen, 1918, 84 seqq.; S. WEBER in *Buchberger's Kirchl. Handlexikon*, I., 1651; HERGENRÖTHER, IV⁸., 152.

and his conferment of the *pallium* on him. This request was granted by Pius VI. on September 1st, 1783.¹ In an allocution to the Cardinals in consistory he took the opportunity of bringing Giarve's merits to their knowledge. He said that even before the death of Giarve's persecutor, the Patriarch Gregory III., he had had brought to him his nomination as Bishop of Aleppo, and during the persecution Giarve had proved his loyalty to the Apostolic See. The Latin Patriarch of Babylon, Miroadot du Bourg, had been appointed by Giarve as his representative in Rome when the former was undertaking a journey to the Holy City.

Naturally the schismatics did not quietly acquiesce in Giarve's elevation. They too chose their Patriarch, a certain Matthew, and began a persecution. The Catholics had to go into hiding, and Giarve narrowly escaped execution. He fled to the Lebanon and took up his residence in the convent of Sajjide el-Sciarfe, which Pius VI. took under his protection in 1787.²

Among the Chaldeans of Mesopotamia the patriarchate became extinct after the death of Elias VII. Denha in 1778. His nephew Hormuzd Mar Hanna was recognized by the Pope only as the Archbishop of Mosul.³ Together with him, five Bishops and the majority of the Nestorians in Mosul declared themselves to be Catholics.⁴ In 1638 a wealthy French lady had presented the Pope with 6,000 Spanish doubloons, and Urban VIII. had applied the interest to the Church in Bagdad. Pius VI. laid down fresh regulations for the employment of this sum.⁵

As a piece of good news from the East, which might serve as a consolation for the sad conditions prevailing in Europe,

¹ According to the consistorial records in *Ius pontif.*, IV., 270 n. On December 15, 1783, Brief to Giarve and conveyance of the *pallium* and the confession of faith to be made by him, *ibid.*, 271 n., VII., 214 seq.

² NEHER in the *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, XI², 1130; *Échos d'Orient*, 1897, 201. Cf. Brief of May 22, 1787, *Ius pontif.*, IV., 317.

³ S. GIAMIL, *Genuinae relationes*, Romae, 1902, 392.

⁴ PIOLET I., 258.

⁵ On June 11, 1781, *Ius pontif.*, IV., 260. Cf. PIOLET, I., 236.

Pius VI. announced in consistory in 1781¹ that the Patriarchs of Lesser Armenia and Cilicia were keeping faith with Rome and that the newly elected Patriarch Basil, formerly Bishop of Amasia, had applied for confirmation of his election and the *pallium*. The Pope discountenanced the scanty respect paid by the Latin missionaries to the Armenian rite.²

On several occasions Pius VI. confirmed the election of new Patriarchs of the Greek Melchites, beginning with that of Athanasius Jauhar, which was now canonical.³ On Jauhar's death he agreed, on June 28th, 1796, to the elevation of Cyril Siagi,⁴ and shortly afterwards he recognized as Patriarch the former Archbishop of Sidon, Agapius Mattar.⁵ Under his rule Jansenism and Gallicanism made their way into Syria. Germanos Adam (d. 1809), who had been Bishop of Aleppo since 1777, a pupil of Propaganda and a trusted agent of Rome until he turned against it after an unsuccessful lawsuit, allowed himself to be won over to Ricci of Pistoia's doctrines when passing through Tuscany on his way back to his own country. A synod held at Qarqafe in 1806 adopted his ideas entirely.⁶

The opposition which the Patriarch of the Maronites, Joseph Estephan, had aroused against himself in the pontificate of Clement XIII., through his zeal for reform, possibly intemperate, and his encouragement of the visionary Agemi,⁷

¹ *Ius pontif.*, IV., 263 seq.

² HERGENRÖTHER, IV^e., 151. A treatise in Italian which appeared in Venice in 1783, tried to prove that the Holy See tolerated the participation of Uniat Armenians in the funerals, marriages, etc., of the non-Uniats. The work was censured by the theological faculty of Siena. It was ascribed to a Jesuit, Martnovich. PICOT, V., 202 seqq. The Society's bibliographers have no knowledge of a Jesuit of this name. Cf. NOVAES, XVI., I, 122 seq.

³ Allocution of March 30, 1789. MANSI, *Coll. Conc.*, XLVI., 615.

⁴ *Ius pontif.*, IV., 422, n. 1.

⁵ Allocution of July 24, 1797. MANSI, *loc. cit.*, 677; *Ius pontif.*, IV., 421 seq.

⁶ MOURRET, VI., 532.

⁷ Cf. our account, vol. XXXVII., 432 seq.

continued in the pontificate of Pius VI. Several of the charges brought against him were unjust, such as that he had knelt before Agemi and asked her for her blessing and that he had put up a picture of her in his church.¹ But the Franciscan Pietro Craveri da Moretta, whom Propaganda had entrusted with the execution of its decree of July 8th, 1774, in connexion with the Maronite affair, reported such sayings to Rome as though they were facts. Even apart from this the Patriarch was in such disfavour in Rome that his envoy, Archbishop Arsenius of Damascus, had not been granted an audience after waiting three years,² and now, on June 25th, 1779, Estephan was suspended from the exercise of his episcopal office and was invited to Rome to give an account of his conduct. Michael el-Khazen was appointed Vicar General in his stead. These decrees were ratified by the Pope on July 17th, 1779.³ Estephan, though far from well, obediently set out for Rome but was detained by illness at Bêirût. At length, after forty-five days, three French doctors certified that he was unfit to undertake the voyage. He had to be taken to Mt. Carmel to recuperate.⁴

Meanwhile, El-Khazen, the Vicar Patriarchal, had called a synod for July 21st, 1780, at Maiphuk, which was to give the Patriarch the *coup de grâce*. But Moretta had to call on the secular arm to bring the Bishops together in council, and letters of protest against the assembly were sent, and not only by Estephan, to Rome.⁵ Before being reinstated in his dignity, the Patriarch was asked to sign a recantation. The news of this emboldened his adversaries to strive after the definite deposition of the unfortunate prelate. In particular, statements that damaged his reputation were extorted from Agemi. Infuriated by this, Estephan allowed himself to be seduced into writing violently-worded letters to Propaganda. Even worse, he took the liberty, though in good faith, of making some alterations in the form of recantation.⁶ In consequence,

¹ DIB, in the *Dict. de théol. cath.*, X., 95. ² *Ibid.*, 94.

³ *Ius pontif.*, IV., 242 *seqq.*

⁴ DIB, *loc. cit.*, 96.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 97.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 98.

Propaganda ordered another inquiry to be made, unfortunately by Moretta again. He, on arriving at Alexandria on January 12th, 1784, sent on to Bêirût, in advance of himself, his companion, the young Maronite priest Tian. In Bêirût little trust was placed in Moretta's sense of justice, and Tian was persuaded to return to Rome with numerous letters written in Estephan's defence by Bishops, priests, and laymen of good standing. On September 21st, 1784, the special Congregation for Maronite affairs decided in favour of the Patriarch. His reinstatement was announced by Moretta himself on February 11th, 1785.¹ The minutes of a synod held at Ain-Chakik on September 6th to 11th, 1786, were, it is true, declared invalid by Pius VI. on December 15th, 1787,² though it must be said on Estephan's behalf that he had only appended his signature subject to Rome's confirmation.³ On the other hand, part at least of the proceedings of another episcopal assembly, which took place on December 3rd to 18th, 1790, received the Papal confirmation.⁴ Estephan died on April 22nd, 1793, and his two successors to the patriarchal throne soon followed him to the grave. On July 24th, 1797, the Pope confirmed the election of Joseph Tian as the new Patriarch, but he too was opposed by so many obstacles that he resigned in 1809.⁵

Agemi was no longer of any account. Her supposed revelations had been declared by Rome to be illusions, and the Congregation and the Confraternity of the Sacred Heart had been dissolved. She herself had been removed from Bekorki to another convent, and here she ended her days on February 13th, 1798.⁶

¹ *Ibid.*, 99 seq.

² *Ius pontif.*, IV., 327 seq.

³ *Ibid.*, 242 seqq.

⁴ DIB, 100.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 100-1 ; *Ius pontif.*, IV., 420.

⁶ DIB, 96. For Agemi, cf. KARALEVSKIJ, in the *Dict. d'hist. et de géogr. ecclés.*, I., 1276-9. There were still some adherents of hers in 1849 (*ibid.*).

During these Maronite troubles it must have been a consolation to the Pope to know that the nation remained loyal to him. To emphasize the necessity for concord and the union with Rome, Pius VI., on May 24th, 1787, sent to all the Patriarchs and to all the clergy of the Eastern Church the Arabic translation of the Roman Catechism which he had had printed by Propaganda.¹

Not only in the East itself but in Europe too there were Catholics of the Eastern rite. For the Greek rite Pius VI. erected bishoprics in Hungary.² To the Italo-Greeks in southern Italy, who already had a Bishop of their own rite in Calabria, he granted another Bishop in Sicily,³ and he gave his confirmation⁴ to the seminary for Ruthenian Uniat students which the energetic Bishop Maximilian Ryłó had set up in Kulm.

Apart from some sporadic successes, however, the position of the Latin missionaries in Eastern Europe was definitely discouraging. The general hostility towards the religious Orders which was manifested at this period and the event of the French Revolution had the most disastrous effects. Thus the Capuchin missions in Turkish territory, both in Europe and Asia, were brought to an end. At Galata, in 1783, their property was taken over by the Vicar Apostolic, and this was soon followed by the destructive activity of the Jacobins. At Canea the missionaries' hospice was suddenly attacked and seized, and the church was turned over to secular uses. In

¹ *Ius pontif.*, IV., 318.

² See above, pp. 350 *seq.*

³ On February 6, 1784, *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 2, 1339 *seq.* (*Ius pontif.*, IV., 283, with the date January 20, 1793, 328).

⁴ On January 19, 1779 (*ibid.*, VI., 644). The difficulties raised by the Bishop of Stuhlweissenburg, Ignatius von Batthyány, about the mission conducted by the Franciscan Conventuals in Moldavia were shown to be unwarranted (Brief of January 2, 1788, *Ius pontif.*, IV., 328). The reissue of the Glagolitic Breviary received the Papal approbation on March 11, 1791 (*ibid.*, 364). Cf. PELESZ, II., 639, for the establishment by Joseph II. in 1783 of a general seminary at Lemberg for Greek Uniat priests.

Athens, in 1796, they were driven out of their property, and they were forced to abandon Galata, Andros, and Milo. On Candia there remained but one solitary missionary.¹ The Riformati too had to abandon their mission in Cephalonia owing to the lack of available priests.² The same thing happened in Smyrna, Cyprus, Chio, and Cairo.³ Everywhere the numbers of the missionaries shrank alarmingly; the churches were closed and fell into decay.⁴ The cessation of the payment of 6,000 francs a year, which Louis XIII. had assigned to the Capuchins, did grave harm to the Catholic Church.⁵

In 1793 the Bishop of Syra asked Propaganda to give permission to two Jesuits from White Russia to come as missionaries to the Greek islands, for he could say without exaggeration that without the ex-Jesuits the Catholic religion would perish on Syra as had already happened on the other islands of the Aegean. As could only have been anticipated, the Congregation had to refuse, and it instructed the Bishop to make use of the Capuchins.⁶ From Constantinople too there came laments about the misery of the galley-slaves, now that

¹ TERZORIO, II., 112, 115; PIOLET, I., 64 *seqq.*

² TERZORIO, II., 186.

³ *Ibid.*, III., 151; PIOLET, I., 134.

⁴ TERZORIO, III., 132.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ " *Episcopus Syrensis rogat, ut S. Congr. permittat che possano colà portarsi per missionarii due individui della vigente Compagnia nella Russia Bianca con quelle riserve e limitazioni, che a S. Santità piacerà prescr vergli; altrimenti mi avanzo ad asserire (come egli suggerisce) senza punto esagerare, che in difetto degli Exgesuiti la religione cattolica soccomberà anche in questa isola, conforme per lo stesso motivo si deplora in oggi, ma inutilmente, d'esser accaduto non solo in altre isole del Mar Egeo, ma perfino nel già cristianissimo regno di Francia." Reply from Propaganda: " Negative et utatur opera Capucinatorum, et ad mentem, et mens est, ut instruatur de vera S. Sedis intentione quoad extinctam Soc. Iesu etiam relate ad individuos in Alba Russia commorantes." Acta S. Congregationis, July 22, 1793. Archives of the Propaganda.

there were no longer any Jesuits to have a care for them.¹ In Constantinople, at the time of the Revolution, great services were rendered by the ex-Jesuit Hieronymus Delenda, "a man of acknowledged virtue and of great merit," who had been appointed administrator by Propaganda.²

In the Levant, in 1782, the Lazarists were making ready to take over from the Jesuits. As their Superior, Viguier, the former Vicar General of Tunis, wrote to the Minister,³ speedy help was even more necessary there than in China, for there were no longer any Jesuits in Smyrna and Antura, and they would soon be leaving Aleppo, if they had not already done so. The right to a subsidy of 20,000 *livres* devolved, he continued, on their successors, his subjects. They would need this for travelling expenses, equipment, and maintenance in the first year for the stations on Santorin, at Aleppo, and at Antura. The country offered him no resources, they would find the churches burnt down in Smyrna and on Chio, and there were debts amounting to 60,000 *livres*. In another report of this period ⁴ we read that there were 700 Catholics on Santorin, 1,350 on Naxos, 1,500 on Chio, 3,000 in Smyrna,

¹ " *Vic. Patriarchae Constantinopoli de miseria christianorum servorum in triremibus ex quo iam non sunt Jesuitae, qui eorum curam habebant." *Ibid.*, April 21, 1777; similarly on July 31, 1780, *ibid.*, fo. 254.

² **Ibid.*, May 19, 1806, fos. 97-146: "De ecclesia S. Benedicti Constantinopoli. Historia tempore revolutionis. Per s. Congregationem etc. administrator nominatus fuit Hieron. Delenda Exjesuita spectatae virtutis et magni meriti erga religionem catholicam, honoratus ab omnibus; quid fecerit tempore administrationis a 1. Julii 1793 usque ad 1. Dec. 1797 et iterum a 1. Dec. 1797 ad 30. Oct. 1802, ita ut creditor fieret Lazaristarum 11844 piastrorum. Pro eo scribit Msgr. Fonton 10. Mart. 1804," fo. 101. The jurisdiction over the Trinitarians in Constantinople is dealt with in a Brief of August 16, 1783, *Ius pontif.*, IV., 278.

³ Viguier on November 15, 1782, in RABBATH, I., 625.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 612. *Ius pontif.*, IV., 323 *seqq.*, 413 *seq.*: decrees for the Franciscans in the Holy Land, November 26, 1787, and September 23, 1794.

300 at Salonika, and at least 20,000 in Constantinople. Santorin, Naxos, Syra, Tino, and Chio had titular Bishops, four of whom, of the Armenian rite, and a Latin titular Archbishop, were in Constantinople. On Santorin, the report went on, there were about 30 clerics, and about 20 on Naxos, but hardly one of them was fit to preach, so that the necessity for a seminary was evident. The three other islands were in a somewhat better condition. There was a goodly number of priests and religious in Syria and Egypt too, but almost all of them were equally incompetent.

A few years later, according to the Propaganda records, all the Jesuit posts in the Levant had been taken over by the Lazarists.¹ Naturally the Congregation could not satisfy all demands, and in 1817 the attention of Propaganda was again drawn to the necessity of the restoration of the Jesuits to the islands of the Aegean.²

(2)

From the very days of their founder, St. Vincent de Paul, a field of activity for the Lazarists had been North Africa, the mission to Algiers and Tunis. After the Vicar Apostolic of Algiers, Viguier, had been called to Syria in 1778, his post was filled time and again, until the end of the century, by the Lazarists.³ Besides a few free Europeans, the Congregation had only the Christian slaves there in their charge, but this

¹ *Acta S. Congregationis, August 22, 1785: "Lazaristae in Oriente substituti sunt Jesuitis in toto Oriente (Levante) pro omnibus stationibus, quibusdam exceptis, ubi sc. redditus erant insufficientes." *Ibid.*, January 24, 1803, fo. 64: "Lazaristae successerunt Jesuitis Constantinopolitanis Syriae (Aleppo, Damasci, Anturae, Monte Libano et Antilibano et Caira, ubi domus et capella a Dño Viguier fuit vendita), in Archipelago (Salonichi, Naxiae, Chii, Syrae, Santorini, Tini) et Smyrnae."

² **Ibid.*, September 23, 1817: "necessitas redditus Jesuitarum in Archipelagum" (Naxos, Chio, Constantinople).

³ Brief of nomination for Claude Cosson, of December 1, 1778, in *Ius pontif.*, IV., 241; the names of his successors in *Mém. de la Congr. de la Mission*, III., 380 seq.

involved them in the greatest sacrifices and difficulties. In 1775, 1783, and 1784 Algiers was attacked or bombarded by the Spanish,¹ and in 1778 the town was visited by a terrible famine and was ravaged by locusts and the plague.² A report of 1785³ on the missionaries and their work tells us that in Algiers, besides the three Lazarists and two lay-brothers, there were Spanish Trinitarians at work. These were under the direct protection of the Dey and conducted the slaves' hospital; in their pastoral work they were assisted by some secular or regular priests among the prisoners. There were usually about 1,800 Christian slaves in the town. The Lazarists had in their care the three bagnios where the slaves belonging to the State were confined; the privately owned slaves and the Europeans could attend the chapel in the Lazarists' residence. Christian doctrine was taught there every Friday. Mass on Sundays and holidays was said at night, as the slaves had to be at work early in the morning. The yearly income of the missionaries was 6,600 *livres*, 4,000 of which they spent on clothes and other alms for the slaves. The self-sacrifice of the Trinitarians and Lazarists in tending the plague-stricken was wonderful. The three Trinitarians all fell victims to their devotion to duty, and their place was soon taken by two other members of the Order. Of the eleven inmates of the Lazarist house only three had not to be taken to hospital. The Danish consul Rhebinder admitted quite frankly⁴ that such self-sacrifice was not to be found among his clergy.

The endowments made for the relief of the Christian slaves in Algiers were also confiscated by the French revolutionaries. The victims appealed to the National Assembly on July 1st, 1790, but with no result,⁵ and the representations made by

¹ *Ibid.*, 361, 393, 401.

² *Ibid.*, 371.

³ *Ibid.*, 429 *seqq.*

⁴ On April 13, 1787: "J'avoue franchement que nos prêtres protestants, presque tous en général, seraient incapables des sacrifices que vous faites." *Ibid.*, 457.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 492; GOYAU in the *Rev. d'hist. des missions*, XII., 28, 38.

the consul-general Vallière to Neuville, the Minister of Marine,¹ were equally fruitless. And then the Lazarists, like all the other religious Orders, were suppressed.

In Tunis, to obviate disputes between the missionaries of Propaganda and the Spanish officials, Pius VI. placed all the Spaniards in the town under the spiritual authority of the senior chaplain to the Spanish forces.²

Also in the days of their founder the Lazarists had made many sacrifices for the christianization of Madagascar and since then they had tried again and again to effect an entry into the island.³ Towards the end of the eighteenth century these efforts were renewed. On July 2nd, 1775, when the Pole Beniuski was contemplating the colonization of the island, the French Minister of Marine asked the Lazarist General for two missionaries to accompany him. Accordingly, in 1776, the Lazarist Gabriel Durocher, armed with a Brief appointing him Prefect Apostolic for seven years, departed for Mauritius. Repeated advances on his final goal, however, were rewarded with little tangible success. The Malagasy, wrote Durocher on April 17th, 1780,⁴ were ripe for Christianity. "But what could I do, alone with a troop of forty soldiers who do more harm in a single day than I could repair in a month?" The only obstacle to evangelization, he said, was the bad behaviour of the Europeans. In 1785 Madagascar was joined to Mauritius to form a Vicariate Apostolic, and in March 1788, the Lazarist General Cayla sent four of his religious to help the senior missionary Durocher. But the revolution of 1789 put a stop to any further effort.

Under the influence of the Franciscans an attempt was made to resume the mission to Abyssinia. In 1782 the native priest Tobias Ghebragzer went with a companion to Rome, where he spent six years studying, and on June 6th, 1788, he was

¹ On June 25, 1792, and February 4, 1793, *Mém.*, loc. cit., 494, 497.

² On August 4, 1797; *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 3, 3036.

³ *Mém. de la Congr. de la Mission*, IX., Paris, 1866, 594-622.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 614.

nominated Bishop of Adula.¹ In 1790 he returned to his native country with two Franciscans. The Negus Ezechias was not unfriendly to them and in a letter to the Pope asked for his help against the Gallas. But he was overthrown and with his fall the mission came to an end.²

Benedict XIV. had put the Copts under the Bishop of Jerusalem,³ but afterwards the Franciscans resumed control of them. In 1781 Pius VI. set up the Vicariate Apostolic of Cairo.⁴

In 1777 Raphael de Castello de Vide went to the Congo with Portuguese missionaries. They were followed in 1781 by the Benedictine Bishop Graja of Angola, who hoped to establish schools there.⁵

(3)

In the Old World the Lazarists had proved to be the best missionary society ; in Central and South America it was the Franciscans. The Order took a huge burden on itself when, in addition to its own missions in Mexico, it accepted the task of cultivating the mission-fields which had had to be abandoned by the Jesuits. Owing to the enormous area involved, the difficulties were inevitably numerous. As Charles III. reminded Rome through his ambassador, the missions to California, Monterey, Sonora, Upper and Lower Pimeria, Sinaloa, New Cantabria, Parral, Chihuahua, Tarahumara, and New Mexico, were all, with the sole exception of the Dominican mission in California, in the hands of the Franciscans. In this immense area there were only six headquarters, and the vast distances that separated the six Superiors from the various mission-stations made it impossible for them to supervise each station continuously or to give an assured decision when differences of opinion arose about the methods by which the missionary work was to be carried out. Also there were conflicts with the

¹ *Ius pontif.*, IV., 331.

² LEMMENS, 186.

³ Cf. our account, vol. XXXV., 404.

⁴ HERGENRÖTHER, IV⁶., 152.

⁵ SCHMIDLIN, 374, 387.

secular priests when Indians settled in the villages controlled by the Franciscans. The Franciscans gave their services freely, while the seculars still demanded tribute from the Indians and exacted it with such harshness that the natives often fled for refuge to the mountains. It must be said too that the missionaries required the natives to work excessively hard in building and decorating the churches and in maintaining the villages. At the request of the King of Spain, Pius VI. tried to remove these abuses by reorganizing the missions; among other remedies, the number of the missionary headquarters was to be increased.¹

Several other problems confronting the Franciscan missions had to be solved by the Pope. After performing ten years' service among the Indians the missionaries were entitled to return to the Provinces of the Order whence they had come. Pius VI. laid down how these years were to be calculated, what privileges would be granted to those who stayed longer in the missions, what were the rights of the Superiors over the colleges and the missions, and much else besides.²

Meanwhile the activity of the training colleges for missionaries had continued to be very fruitful in Mexico. It was reckoned that in Texas in 1770 there were 15,000 Christian Indians.³ In Tarahumara in 1780 there were eighteen Franciscans looking after 31 Indian villages and several Spanish communities.⁴ In 1784 the missions that provisionally embraced Upper and Lower Pimeria, viz: Sonora and Arizona, had nine hospices or convents, sixteen missions, and twenty-five stations.⁵ Not content with the amount of work they already had to perform, many of the Franciscans went on

¹ Brief of November 17, 1779, in HERNÁNDEZ, *Colección*, I., 684 *seqq.*; *Ius pontif.*, IV., 247 *seqq.* Cf. in *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 566, the negotiations on the erection of the see of Sonora.

² Brief of December 12, 1797 (*Ius pontif.*, IV., 423-9). Similar privileges had already been conferred on the Dominican missionaries in Lower California on July 8, 1794 (*ibid.*, 388).

³ LEMMENS, 248.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 249.

⁵ *Ibid.*

journeys of exploration to see what further prospects there were of evangelization. Thus Peter Font went to Monterey in California in 1773, Silvester Velez de Escalante to the Moquis in 1775, and Francis Garrés to the Rio Colorado district in 1776.¹ On the Rio Colorado, unfortunately, the missionaries' efforts were frustrated by the Government, which refused to listen to their advice and exasperated the Indians. In a revolt of the Yumas in 1781 four Franciscans and almost all the Spaniards were massacred.²

When Upper California, hitherto untouched, was occupied by the Spanish in 1769, several Franciscans accompanied the troops. As the first missionary establishments seemed to offer good prospects, the missionary college of St. Ferdinand in Mexico City decided to devote particular attention to this new province. Under the leadership of Juniper Serra, there now began in Upper California one of the most fruitful missions of modern times. When Serra died in 1784 there were 5,800 Indian Christians in this part of America, and by 1834 89,800 had been baptized. The very name of the capital of Upper California, San Francisco, perpetuates the memory of the Franciscans, who founded it on September 17th, 1776, the feast of the stigmata of their founder. The present towns of San Diego and Monterey also sprang from Franciscan settlements. The Christian Indians were gathered together by the missionaries into reductions, on the Paraguayan model. Under the gentle sway of the Franciscans the natives lived a happy life until, with the coming of the nineteenth century, everything was ruined.³ Even the youngest of the Franciscan missionary colleges, that of Pachuca, had assembled in reductions 2,289 Indians, almost half the total number of the neophytes, in the mountains of Zimapan, in the north of the State of Hidalgo.⁴

¹ *Ibid.*, 250.

² *Ibid.*, 251.

³ *Ibid.*, 252; ENGELHARDT, *The Franciscans in California*, San Francisco, 1908; *Die kath. Missionen*, I. (1873), 73 seq.; HOLZAPFEL, 525 seq.

⁴ LEMMENS, 254.

The Franciscan Provinces in Mexico also engaged in work among the Indians independently of the missionary colleges. In 1780, in the north-east of Mexico, in the district then known as Huasteca, all the natives were Christian. Twenty-seven Indian villages were under the direction of the Franciscans, and they had handed over thirty-nine others to the seculars.¹ In 1787 the Franciscan Province of Zacatecas was maintaining thirty-four stations among the natives.²

The Archbishop of Mexico, Ildephonsus Nuñez de Haro y Peralta, had also established a missionary college and had been duly thanked by the Pope.³ Among the missionary colleges in Europe managed by the Franciscans that of Vinhaes was declared to be a participant of the privileges enjoyed by similar institutions.⁴

The upheavals of the Revolution and the anti-clerical Governments of the nineteenth century undid all the work that had been done for the Indians. In Mexico the destruction had already begun in the pontificate of Pius VI. In Texas, a decree of January 2nd, 1793, deprived the Franciscans of the station of S. Antonio de Valero ; on April 10th, 1794, all the missionary headquarters in the north and east of Texas were secularized ; and in 1813 the Cortes decreed that all the landed properties of the mission were to be handed over to the civil authorities.⁵

In South America too the Franciscans replaced the Jesuits.⁶ In Chile, in 1767, the Franciscan Bishop of Concepcion, Pedro

¹ *Ibid.*, 242.

² *Ibid.*

³ On August 14, 1779 (*Ius pontif.*, IV., 246).

⁴ On January 26, 1786 (June 27, 1788), *ibid.*, 300, 332. The Brief (*ibid.*, 434) deals with missionary work at home.

⁵ O'ROURKE, *The Franciscan Missions in Texas, 1690-1793*, Washington, 1927, 76.

⁶ Statistics showing the dwindling of the population of the South American missions after 1773 in MAAS, *Las Órdenes religiosas de España y la colonización de América*, I. (1918), Nos. 19-21 (report of 1799). In 1797 there were only 15,000 souls in the reductions of Paraná and Uruguay. *Ibid.*, 402, n. 2.

Ángel Espineira, who greatly respected the Jesuits and had held them up as models to other missionaries, transferred their missions in Arauco, Valdivia, and the island of Chiloé to the missionary college of Chillán; in 1771, however, Chiloé was transferred to the college of Ocopa. In 1791, according to a report of that year, the mission, composed of 147 Franciscan priests, distributed over eleven stations, had 16,100 souls in its charge. Since in 1790 the population of the entire archipelago was given as 26,685, the greater part of it therefore was Christian. On the mainland, blunders made by the civil administration in Valdivia led in 1792 to an insurrection of the Indians, for the settlement of which the Franciscan Alday was largely responsible. According to statistics issued in 1807 five new stations had been established in Valdivia since the expulsion of the Jesuits, and as many more in the south; there were 7,496 Christians (as opposed to 10,761 pagans), 31 missionaries, and 15 stations.

The suggestion having been made by the Viceroy Emanuel de Amat that a seminary for the sons of *caciques* be opened as one way of christianizing the natives, a college of this kind was started in 1777 under the direction of a secular priest. In 1786 it was handed over to the Franciscans of the college of Chillán, and in 1794 three sons of *caciques* were admitted to Holy Orders, one as a Franciscan. This institution also was destroyed by the Revolution.¹

In Peru, from 1734 onwards, all the activity on behalf of the Indians was generated in the missionary college of Ocopa, to the east of the Andes. A fresh period of efflorescence began with the election as Guardian of Emanuel Sobraviela. He excelled as an organizer, saw to the exploration of the missionary area, drew maps of it, and constructed better roads and easier communications, thereby considerably shortening the necessary journeys. He gave the Indians tools and household furniture, and induced them to move their villages to

¹ LEMMENS, 312 *seq.* The separation of the Chiloé and Valdivia missions from Ocopa (Brief of May 24, 1784, *Ius pontif.*, IV., 286) seems not to have been carried out (LEMMENS, 312 n.).

the banks of the Huallaga, so that they could dispose of the products of their plantations more easily. All this, of course, helped on the work of the mission. Missions which had been destroyed were brought to life again and Christianity made slow but steady progress. In 1824, when the college was closed down by the newly founded Republic of Peru—it was reopened in 1836—it was possible to look back on its history. It was then recalled with pride that there had been eighteen martyrdoms, 46,000 conversions (including those placed to the credit of the college of Chiloé), about thirty journeys taken to explore the network of the Amazon, forty newly-established villages, six good bridle-paths, and nine accurate maps—so many leaves in its rich crown of laurels.¹

In Venezuela, in 1787, after the Franciscans had taken over eighteen Jesuit stations, their field of activity finally embraced the whole of the present State of Bolivar, in which there were 29,432 souls distributed over 68 villages.² In Bolivia, as the result of extraordinary labour and self-sacrifice, they had twenty-two missions served by thirty-six missionaries, with 16,425 Christians as against only 7,511 unconverted. Here again, in 1813, the destructive influence of the Revolution took effect.³

In the Argentinian Province of the Order, in 1780, the Franciscans had thirty missions and sixty missionaries. Among the latter were several "Indian Religious of St. Francis", whose knowledge of the native languages enabled them to render good service.⁴ For the southern portion of the Chaco the missionary college of S. Carlos was opened in 1786 at S. Lorenzo on the Paraná.⁵

Queen Maria Francesca of Portugal wanted to establish at Pará in Brazil a college for boys, a school for girls, and a hospital for the poor, using for the purpose the revenues from three decayed Mercedarian convents and some of the benefices attached to the principal church of Pará. To this project Pius VI. gave his consent.⁶

¹ *Ibid.*, 301-4.

² *Ibid.*, 279.

³ *Ibid.*, 320.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 332.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ On November 12, 1787 (*Ius pontif.*, IV., 320 seq.).

(4)

In Southern India the Christian missionaries had terrible sufferings to undergo when the fanatical Sultan of Mysore, Tippoo Sahib (d. 1799), came to the throne and undertook the forcible conversion to Islam of all his subjects. In his capital of Seringapatam, at Palacaticherry, Calicut, and other places in the Malabar kingdoms of Konkan and Kanara he had "countless" Christians hanged, the women with their children clinging round their necks; others were trampled to death by elephants or were dragged along by them through thick and thin till not a bone was left unbroken; others again had their noses cut off or were circumcised in the Mohammedan fashion. Husbands and wives were torn asunder and Mohammedan women were given to Christian men, Christian women to Mohammedan men. Almost all the churches were destroyed by Tippoo, and the priests were driven out. More than 30,000 non-Mohammedans are said to have been slaughtered as victims to his fanatical zeal for Islam.¹ It was not till Tippoo Sahib had been conquered by the English in 1792 that the Christians had a moment's peace.² He is said to have driven 70,000 Christians from his country and to have turned 100,000 Hindus into Mohammedans by forcing them to eat meat or to be circumcised.³

On his flight from Tippoo, the ex-Jesuit Alexander Pavone, "a truly apostolic man, who worked for thirty years in the missions of Mysore, Konkan, and Madura, and traversed the interior of Southern India,"⁴ fell in with the Carmelite Paulinus (Wesdin) of St. Bartholomew, whom he apprised of the state of Christianity in India. In the kingdoms of Madura and Tanjore there were still about 80,000 Christians, and

¹ PAULINUS A. S. BARTOLOMAEO, *India Orientalis christiana*, Romae, 1794, 199; *id.*, *Viaggio alle Indie Orientali*, Roma, 1796, 89.

² PAULINUS, *India*, 159.

³ HOFER'S *Nouvelle Biographie générale*, XLV., 414; LEVEN B. BOWRING (*Haidar Ali and Tipú Sultán*, Oxford, 1893, 125 *seq.*) speaks only of deportation (of 30,000 Christians).

⁴ PAULINUS, *India*, 154.

40,000 in Mysore and Konkan. In Karnatik the place of the French Jesuits had been taken by native priests and those from the Paris Seminary ; they were subject to the Vicar Apostolic of Pondicherry. In Bengal and Arakan there were Augustinians from the Province of Goa, for whom the Bishop of Mylapore was appointing a Vicar Apostolic. Under Portuguese rule there had been several churches here but now there were only 20,000 Christians in Calcutta. At Chandarnagar the French traders were trying to destroy Christianity in the same way as they had done in their own country ; a schismatic interloper was at work where the Jesuits used to be. Here too there was a hospice of Italian Capuchins, who were also working in Patna and Bettia, where they were held in high esteem by the king and his family. Capuchins were also at work in Nepal.¹

According to Paulinus of St. Bartholomew, there were 60,000 adherents of the Latin rite, besides the St. Thomas Christians, in the Vicariate Apostolic of Verapoly. They enjoyed the protection of the Dutch Government provided that they renounced the Portuguese monarch and the Portuguese Bishop and swore to defend the town by force of arms.² The Bishop of Mylapore administered his diocese by means of Goanese priests ; it was only in Calcutta that the parishes were in the hands of Augustinians. In Pondicherry the cure of souls, both native and European, was in the hands of the Paris Seminarians, Jesuits, and Capuchins ; the last-named were entrusted with a Prefecture Apostolic for the cure of souls among the Europeans.³ Itinerant missionaries were sent out from Pondicherry to Tanjore, Madura, and Karnadaja. There was a seminary at Ariancon for the training of native priests from China and Further India. The Vicars Apostolic and the directors of the seminary were sent a Brief of commendation by Pius VI. on May 10th, 1775.⁴ According to

¹ *Ibid.*, 159.

² *Ibid.*, 119.

³ LAUNAY, *Hist. gén.*, II., 108.

⁴ Reprinted in PAULINUS, *Viaggio*, 4 ; *Ius pontif.*, IV., 208.

a report to Propaganda,¹ the Vicar Apostolic Carlo di S. Corrado had heard from an eye-witness that there were still two churches in Delhi, with 3,000 Catholics, and that there was one church each at Agra, Bhartpur, and Norrua, with 1,500, 2,000, and 4,000 worshippers respectively. The Malabar mission was entrusted to the former Vicar Apostolic of Siam, Brigot, who had just escaped from the prisons of Burma. Under his rule also the Karnatic mission came under the care of the priests of the Paris Seminary, with whom the ex-Jesuits had to co-operate.²

Apart from their exiguous numbers, the missionaries were impeded in their work by the bickering between the Portuguese who insisted on their old rights of patronage, and the Paris Mission Seminary. The Bishop of São Thomé forced the Vicar Apostolic Champenois and his missionaries to leave Pondicherry ; and some of the Portuguese prelates, accompanied by their priests, forced their way into the missionaries' residences in order to celebrate the services in their place.³ In Madras, where there were 10,000 Christians, not counting the schismatics, the Bishop made himself a nuisance to the Capuchins, as he wanted to get rid of everything that was not Portuguese. "So we have peace from the heathen and peace from the heretic, but no peace from the sons of the Church."⁴

In other respects too, in the eyes of Paulinus of St. Bartholomew, the Church in India was in decay. Whereas formerly, he said, Christianity was spread through the earthly kingdoms by splendid men, fired with religious ardour, now the ardour, and with it the light of religion, had died out. There was no coming generation of missionaries and no alms were given to

¹ *Bombay, 1775, February 22, Archives of the Propaganda, Ind. Or. e Cina 1774-1775, Scritt. rif. Congr. 34 n. 20.

² H. JOSSON, *La Mission du Bengale occidental ou Archidiocèse de Calcutta*, Bruxelles, 1922, 137 ; LAUNAY, *loc. cit.*, II., 115 seq. ; PIOLET, II., 239.

³ LAUNAY, II., 31^{re} seq.

⁴ ST. BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX, *In Cant. serm.*, 33, n. 16. Cf. PAULINUS, *India*, 146-9.

the missions. Since the suppression of the Society of Jesus almost all the churches had been left without pastors and the Christians were left with no instruction or light. Consequently there was everywhere a deadly torpor, deadly inactivity, contempt of religion, and negligence in spreading it.¹ The Archbishop of Cranganore, Salvatore dos Reys, an ex-Jesuit, had to send an urgent call for help to Propaganda, as the Indian missions, especially those in Madura and Mysore, were on the verge of ruin. "I have insistently begged the Holy See, and I beg it once again, not to let perish so many souls which have been ransomed with the precious Blood of Christ. Send us new missionaries and provide the old ones, who are still left from the suppressed Society of Jesus, with the means of subsistence. I have not the means to help them, as I myself have been subsisting on alms for many years, and they are no

¹ "Si qui excellentes et religionis zelo praediti viri in regno Tanjaur, in Madhura, in Maisur, in Concam, in Carnate, in Golconda, in Balagate, in Agra, in Delly aliisque Indiae mediterraneis locis religionem promulgarunt, eorum zelus et religionis lumen temporis et locorum asperitate evanuit, quia nemo est, qui laboris socios submittat, nemo qui facultatibus suis sancte inchoeptum missionis opus fulciat et sustineat. Suppressa Societate Jesu omnes fere illae ecclesiae pastoribus viduae lugent et christiani sine lege et lumine vagantur." Everywhere now there was "mortalis torpor, letiferum otium, religionis contemptus eiusque propagandae summa negligentia." *Ibid.*, 199. Further information about the Indian communities in PAULINUS's *Viaggio*, p. 16 : Pondicherry, p. 36 : Tanjore (after the suppression of the Jesuits many churches were abandoned ; some were still existing, and the Bishop of Mylapore was sending some native priests there. They had been trained in Goa but they had little learning and were not much thought of by the natives. "In my time there were 18,000 Christians in the kingdom of Madura, 20,000 in the Karnatic, 10,000 in Tanjore"); p. 49, Kovalam (Carmelites with small communities); p. 50, Mylapore (Bishop Emanuel of Jesus, from Goa, was expelling from his diocese all who were not Portuguese); p. 76, Kollam and Travancore (Goanese Franciscans and secular priests); p. 109, Malayala (90,000 St. Thomas Christians, including 50,000 Jacobites).

longer coming in. I am an old man of seventy-three, worn out with disease, and incapable of bearing so heavy a burden."¹ To replace the Jesuits, who were dying out, he called on the Discalced Carmelites.² At Pondicherry the Bishop of São Thomé tried to solve the difficulty by giving permission, through an Augustinian, to the ex-Jesuits to live together under their former Superiors. This, however, created a scandal, as it was regarded as disobedience towards the Brief of suppression.³ Furthermore, obstacles were put in the way of missionaries leaving for India by Pombal, on the plea that Jesuits might sneak into India disguised as other religious.⁴

Immediately on receipt of the Brief suppressing the Society of Jesus the Archbishop of Cranganore had announced it to all

¹ " *In ultimis meis certiore feci Sanctam illam Sedem et Eminentiam Vestram de periculo proximo totalis ruinae, quae Missionibus his praecipue Madurensi et Maysurensi imminet propter defectum missionariorum. Conscientiam meam exoneravi in S. illam Sedem, eamque enixe rogavi iterumque rogo, ne perire sinat tantas animas pretioso Christi sanguine redemptas, ut novos Missionarios mittat, eisque, qui hic ex suppressa Societate degunt, submittat quo vivant. Ego quo illis succurram non habeo, cum ipse ex eleemosynis, quae nunc cessant, multis annis vixi. 73 annorum senex sum, morbis confectus et tanto oneri impar . . ." He had therefore appointed a Vicar-General in the person of the former Jesuit Scherpenseel, a German, and sought confirmation and faculties for him. Dos Reys, at Pocotte, September 12, 1775, Archives of the Propaganda, Ind. Or. e Cina, 1774-1775, Scritt. rif. Congr., 34, n. 35.

² *Luigi Maria di Gesù to the Propaganda, Verapoly, September 22, 1776, *ibid.*, n. 12; *cf.* n. 13.

³ *The Capuchin Sebastian de Nevers to the Minister of Marine, January 30, 1776, *ibid.*, nn. 3 and 4.

⁴ " *Marchio de Pombal . . . facultatem navim Indicam conscendendi Religiosis non solum exteris, sed et Lusitanis nullatenus concedere vult. Quas ille rationes habeat, Deus novit; ea quam ego dici audivi haec est: quod timeat plurimum, ne sub mentito nomine et habitu alterius Religionis Jesuitae ad Indias perveniant." Paulinus of St. Bartholomew to the Propaganda, Vannes, October 7, 1775, *ibid.*, 1774-5, n. 32.

the Jesuits, who all submitted to the Papal decision.¹ At Chandarnagar the Brief was promulgated on August 17th, 1775; from there too a call for missionaries was sent to Propaganda.²

By the time that Clement XIV.'s Brief to the King of Travancore had been presented with all solemnity Clement had been succeeded by Pius VI. To the thunder of eleven cannons the king raised the letter to his forehead as a sign of respect and he answered it in writing. His reply was acknowledged by Pius VI. in a Brief of February 24th, 1790.³

In Further India the Barnabite missions in Ava and Pegu were brought almost completely to an end by the continuous wars. After the death of the Vicar Mantigazza in 1793 no other Superior was appointed.⁴ Lebon, the Vicar Apostolic of Siam, died outside the country in banishment in 1780; two missionaries who had been banished with him in 1770 were able to return in 1782, after the death of the Emperor Phajatak.⁵ In Tongking and Cochin China the Dominicans at first took a hand in the administration of the districts worked by the Jesuits, and then these areas were divided, on May 20th, 1786, between them and the Paris Seminary.⁶ But the mission suffered from the turmoil of war and the lack of manpower. With the help of the French, Bishop Pigneau de Béhaine succeeded in placing Gia-long on the throne. In 1798 another persecution broke out in Tongking, two Dominicans, a Spaniard and a Tongkinese, were executed,⁷ and rewards were offered for the capture of the missionaries; by 1800 they had been replaced

¹ *Loc. cit.*

² *The ex-Jesuit Anton Maria Garret to the Propaganda, January 15, 1776, *ibid.*, 1776, Congr., 35, n. 1.

³ PAULINUS A. S. BARTHOLOMAEO, *Viaggio*, 124. Pius VI.'s Brief in *id.*, *India*, 264 *seq.*

⁴ SCHMIDLIN, 388; GAMS, *Series*, 122.

⁵ LAUNAY, *Hist. gén.*, II., 131.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 102; PICOT, V., 39.

⁷ Papal allocution on them on November 13, 1775, *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 164.

almost everywhere by Tongkinese priests.¹ In Cochin China the Franciscans tried to use their knowledge of the sciences of Europe, especially that of medicine, to win influence at Court and to turn it to the profit of Christianity. One of them, Didacus of Jumilla (d. 1781), won high honours in 1774 and induced the king to publish an edict allowing the Gospel to be preached in public and setting free the Christian slaves.² As opposed to this, the conscientiousness of another Franciscan, James Ginestar, who had admonished an adulterous officer, brought him behind prison bars and led to the proclamation of an edict of persecution in 1785.³

The Vicar Apostolic of West Tongking and his coadjutor were given the following right: the one who outlived the other could appoint a coadjutor with the right of succession and consecrate him Bishop. The same privilege was granted to the Vicar Apostolic of Cochin China.⁴

In the Philippines, the Franciscans not only spread the Gospel but helped to civilize the country by building roads, bridges, canals, and aqueducts.⁵ At Nueva Écija, in 1781, Dominicus a Soledad so diverted the course of the Pantubangan that it flowed through an extensive and hitherto infertile region. In the district of Morong the canals constructed by Massimo Ricco in 1780 still bring water from the mountains to the Balso plain, which was formerly a desert.⁶

According to a letter from Doria, the nuncio to France, to Pallavicini, the French king was willing, with the Pope's assent, to replace the Jesuits as they died out in China, India, and especially Malabar, with priests from the Paris

¹ LAUNAY, II., 324. For Béhaine, cf. *Rev. d'hist. des Missions*, 1926, 353 *seqq.*, 549 *seqq.*; PICOT, V., 296 *seqq.* (where his political activity is discussed).

² LEMMENS, 116.

³ *Ibid.*, 117.

⁴ Brief of July 22, 1798, *Ius pontif.*, IV., 430 *seqq.*

⁵ LEMMENS, 123.

⁶ *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CXLII., 593.

Seminary for Foreign Missions.¹ Rome, apparently, agreed to this.²

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In China the mission that had been conducted so brilliantly by the Jesuits was withering away. In 1775 the Bishop of Nanking, Gottfried von Laimbeckhoven, a native of Vienna, wrote from Nanking to the Propaganda, describing his situation.³ He was sixty-nine years old, he had been thirty-eight years in the mission, he had been Bishop of Nanking for twenty-four years, and for the last nineteen years he had also been Administrator of the diocese of Peking. Formerly the King of Portugal had made a monthly grant of 1,000 taels (1,330 Spanish pesetas) for the upkeep of the mission, but for the last fourteen years the money had not been paid. In consequence the Bishop had been reduced to a state of utter poverty and was heavily in debt. The whole clergy of the diocese consisted of six missionaries; his chaplain was a secular priest, the others were ex-Jesuits, one of them a Portuguese, the remainder Chinese. As two of these six were invalids, there were only the Bishop himself, who also had to be a missionary, and an insufficient number of assistants to minister to the 20,000 Christians. The Portuguese Jesuits who had been moved to Rome by Pombal's measures had held themselves in readiness more than once to come to China as missionaries, but Clement XIII. had forbidden the Jesuit General to send them, lest the Portuguese Court be irritated still more. The persecution by the Chinese mandarins was still

¹ *Letter of March 4, 1776, Nunziat. di Francia, 536, Papal Secret Archives.

² *Doria to Pallavicini, April 15, 1776, *ibid.*, 550. Cf. **id.* to *id.*, May 6, 1776, enclosing a letter from the Minister of Marine, Sartine, expressing Louis XVI.'s gratitude to the Pope; the king hoped to remove all doubts about the missions in India and China. *Ibid.*, 563.

³ *On August 12, 1775 (Archives of the Propaganda, Ind. Or. e Cina, 1774-5, Scritt. rif. Congr., 31, nn. 28 and 29, *loc. cit.*).

going on. Since 1747, when two Jesuits were strangled in prison and five others had only escaped the rope on account of the amnesty granted after the overthrow of the Western Tartars, every mandarin was held responsible for seeing that not a single European was still living in the provinces or returned there.¹

The story of the dying Jesuit mission in Peking was more lamentable still. "I would rather lose my right hand," wrote one of the Jesuits there in 1779,² "than have it known in Europe to what pass we have come in our affliction and agony." Peking was spared the anxiety of day-to-day existence, but it was racked by discord and division. To begin with, a quarrel arose between the Bishops of Nanking and Macao. Since the death in 1757 of Polycarp de Souza, Bishop of Peking, Portugal had not presented another Bishop to the see. As was stipulated by canon law, the administration of the diocese was taken over by the Bishop of the nearest diocese, that of Nanking. Gottfried von Laimbeckhoven continued this administration for many years, uncontested, until Alexander da Sylva Pedrosa Guamarães became Bishop of Macao in 1773 and claimed the rights that had hitherto been exercised by Laimbeckhoven in Peking.³

Another clash took place in connexion with the Brief suppressing the Society of Jesus. Da Sylva, who was of Pombal's way of thinking, published it in Macao on the day after its arrival, in the most solemn and offensive manner.⁴ It now remained to promulgate the Brief in Peking. Propaganda had ordered Laimbeckhoven to appoint a Vicar General for the purpose.⁵ But the performance of this apparently simple duty presented certain difficulties. According to the

¹ For the persecution and its victims, *v.* ROCHEMONTEIX, 22-31. In Kiang-nang and Ho-nan the Christians were too frightened to give hospitality to Laimbeckhoven. *Ibid.*, 167.

² Cibot to the ex-Jesuit Brotier (*ibid.*, 319).

³ *Ibid.*, 165 *seqq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 173.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 170.

Portuguese view, the appointment of a dignitary anywhere within the orbit of Portuguese patronage, that is to say in China as elsewhere, was subject to two conditions: the nominee must be Portuguese and the decree of nomination must go through the chancery in Lisbon.¹ The Vicar General appointed by Laimbeckhoven, the German Carmelite Joseph of St. Teresa, satisfied neither of these conditions. Wherefore the Portuguese Jesuit Espinha of Peking, who, like all his fellow-religious had had to swear, on leaving Portugal, not to acknowledge any dignitary without the authorization of his king, appealed to the new Bishop of Macao, who appointed him his Vicar General. Thus two Bishops, each with a Vicar General, faced each other in the diocese of Peking, and this naturally led to a cleavage among the missionaries. The French Jesuits sided with the Bishop of Nanking, the Portuguese, with a single exception, with that of Macao.²

As the latter's representative, Espinha came to the house of the French Jesuits in Peking on September 22nd, 1775, to announce officially the Brief of suppression, but he was sent away as having no authority.³ The Brief did not reach the Bishop of Nanking's hands till June 17th, 1775; as was his duty, he had it promulgated by Joseph of St. Teresa on November 15th.⁴ The Jesuits thereby ceased to be religious and were now seculars. They were allowed to go on living together but they were independent of each other. In the difficulties that were soon to arise no Provincial or General could any longer impose peace on the dissidents by the mere weight of their word.

Before the Brief had been officially promulgated, three French and two Portuguese Jesuits, merely on hearing of the suppression, considered themselves justified in regarding themselves as released from their vows and as having become independent secular priests.⁵ This cleavage among the Jesuits was followed by one between themselves and the missionaries of Propaganda who, on hearing of what had taken place in

¹ *Ibid.*, 174.

² *Ibid.*, 178.

³ *Ibid.*, 181.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 188.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 159.

Rome, treated the property of the Jesuits as their own, went in and out of their house as they liked, and sat down to table with them, uninvited.¹ Propaganda, however, ruled that everything in the mission was to be left as it was, until the Jesuits had been given successors.² The dispute between the two prelates was also settled by Propaganda, in favour of the Bishop of Nanking.³ After the death of Joseph I. of Portugal, Queen Maria also declared against the Bishop of Macao, on May 21st, 1778.⁴

The three Frenchmen who had cut themselves adrift from the other Jesuits were the cause of further complications when the question, what was to become the property of the former Jesuits, became urgent. By the French laws of 1762 the missionaries had lost the benefices from which they had derived their maintenance. Louis XV., however, acceding to the representations made by the Jesuit missionary Joseph Amiot, had given them 12,000 francs a year from his private means and had thus enabled the French mission in Peking to survive.⁵

After the Papal suppression of the Society the question arose, who was the owner of the Jesuit property. Most of the French missionaries in Peking contended that the kings of France had founded and maintained the French mission, that the right to dispose of the mission's property lay with the successors of Louis XIV., and that the French Jesuits in Peking should always have been regarded as mere administrators.⁶ The three dissidents, on the contrary, maintained that the possessions of the French missionaries to Peking were indeed the gifts of the French kings but that they had ceded their right of ownership to the mission. And as the individual missionaries had become independent secular priests after the

¹ *Ibid.*, 152, 180.

² *Ibid.*, 194.

³ On January 29, 1778 (*ibid.*, 199).

⁴ Letter to Pius VI. (*ibid.*, 202).

⁵ *Ibid.*, 108.

⁶ Amiot to Bertin, October 1, 1774 (*ibid.*, 153). Copy of the letter, *ibid.*, 437 *seqq.*

suppression of the Society the revenues must be distributed among them.¹

The dispute became particularly acrid after Louis XVI. had issued his decree of November 30th, 1776.² Once the Society of Jesus had been destroyed, there was a curious lack of any further mention of the corruption and perniciousness that had led to its destruction, especially in the letters of the French Government to China. On the contrary, it tried to make its survival in China possible and even to encourage it. Louis XVI.'s decree provided that the French mission to Peking was to remain in the same condition as it had been before the suppression and that its former Superior, Bourgeois, was still to be its Superior and the administrator of the property. The three dissidents objected that either the decision had not really been issued by the king or that he had been tricked into it; besides, the king could not appoint a Superior to the mission, for that transgressed Clement XIV.'s Brief of suppression.³ On this last point there was no doubt that they were in the right, but the former Superior Bourgeois might at least have been regarded as the administrator of the Jesuit property. The quarrel grew more bitter in the most regrettable manner, and harsh and ugly things were said about Bourgeois, who did not defend himself.⁴ At one point it was even proposed that the Emperor of China should be asked to give a decision about the property that his ancestor had bestowed on the mission.⁵ The destruction of the Society, wrote Bourgeois,⁶ had shown more clearly in China than anywhere else the importance attached to the holy and wise government of the Society. Everything had been transformed into trials,

¹ *Ibid.*, 159 *seqq.* In the *Supplément à la Gazette de Cologne* of January 2, 1778, there are two letters from the lay-brother Panzi, describing the life of the Peking missionaries after the promulgation of the Brief of suppression.

² Copy in ROCHEMONTEIX, 219.

³ *Ibid.*, 227.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 238.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 235.

⁶ To Duprez, October 20, 1777 (*ibid.*, 238).

humiliations, and ruins. If God did not take the matter in His hands, all was lost. His friend's heart would bleed if he told him the story of all the misery and affliction.

Meanwhile the Government in Paris continued to show the mission further signs of its benevolence. It now thought of ensuring the survival of the French mission to Peking by securing for it the necessary recruits. Its instrument in this measure was to be a former Jesuit living in Paris, whose past experiences were typical of the fate of a missionary to China of this period. Dugad de Vitry, posted to China in 1737, had had to undergo the horrors of persecution from the very outset of his missionary career, in the province of Hu-kwang. His trials were harder still after 1752, when, as Superior of the whole mission, with no fixed abode, he had to wander from place to place, always in fear of discovery and often hard put to it to find a guide, even among the most faithful Christians. Finally, in 1762, in Canton, he fell into the hands of Pombal's myrmidons, who bore him back to Europe. His relatives, now ceasing to hear from him, rightly supposed that he was in the dungeons of St. Julian. Through the good offices of Queen Maria Leszczyńska he was restored to liberty in 1766 and immediately set off for his old field of activity. But at Canton he was forced by the Governor and mandarins to return to Europe. He was spending the last years of his life as chaplain to the Carmelite nuns in Paris when he received the invitation of the French Government to devote himself to the training of recruits for the Peking mission. A house was bought for the purpose, and in January, 1780, the Minister of Marine was able to apprise the French ambassador in Rome of the inception of this new enterprise.¹ The Government went further still in this direction: in order to make the French mission to Peking independent of the Bishops of Macao and Nanking, it proposed the erection of a new bishopric of Mukden. But Rome did not agree to this proposal, and Dugad failed to secure any candidates for his Chinese missionary institute. On his death in 1786 the project was abandoned.²

¹ *Ibid.*, 263.

² *Ibid.*, 277.

Meanwhile Rome was hoping to close the gap between the missionaries by appointing a Bishop of Peking. Propaganda had already written in this sense to the Bishop of Nanking on January 29th, 1778, and on July 29th of the same year it informed the Italian Augustinian Giovanni Damasceno Salusti that he had been chosen for the see of Peking. On February 4th, 1779, the Prefect of Propaganda wrote to him that with that letter he would receive, by way of Lisbon, his Bulls and faculties. The Queen of Portugal had, reluctantly it is true, approved of the nomination of the foreigner Salusti.¹

But the Holy Week of 1780 came and Salusti was still without his Bulls.² The question then arose whether the episcopal consecration could be carried out without them. Of the twenty-six priests in Peking twelve answered in the affirmative, fourteen in the negative.³ In Easter Week Salusti had himself consecrated. This, to say the least, was a contravention of the literal interpretation of a decretal of Boniface VIII.'s, and still more was it a transgression of the provisions of canon law for Salusti to exercise his episcopal office, which he now began to do. Moreover, it was a law founded upon custom, to which no objection had been raised by Rome, that the publication of Papal documents was legally valid only when they were transmitted through the chancery in Lisbon.⁴ The result was that another cleavage was added to the old one. A section of the missionaries refused to recognize the newly consecrated Bishop. In self-defence Salusti had recourse to excommunication and interdict; offensive and defamatory statements were made⁵; and

¹ *Ibid.*, 279-281. The name is written "Salusti" in the records of Propaganda and by Rochemonteix, "Salutti" by Gams and Thomas.

² It is typical of the times that the Jesuits were immediately suspected of having intercepted the Bull. Salusti wrote that he considered them "magis falsos homines ac impios orbis" (*ibid.*, 284).

³ *Ibid.*, 292.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 300 *seq.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 315.

beloved and respected missionaries died one after the other, from grief, it seemed, at being excommunicated.¹ Then Salusti, with the intention of taking possession of the mission's property, appointed as administrator one of the ex-Jesuits who supported him.² The latter sued the former administrator Bourgeois before the imperial court and won the case; henceforth each of the Jesuits was to administer the property for a year at a time and the property itself was divided among them individually.³

On top of all this, contradictory pronouncements were issued by the ecclesiastical authorities regarding Salusti's consecration and legal position. The Archbishop of Goa, speaking as the Metropolitan of the East, pronounced against him, and on Salusti's sudden death on September 24th, 1781, he nominated Espinha Vicar. But the Archbishop's rulings were not recognized by several clerics, and Rome too rejected them. The theologians in Lisbon contested Salusti's right to act as Bishop, while Rome ruled that he had had the right to have himself consecrated even before the arrival of the Bulls, as no reasonable doubt existed about his nomination to the see of Peking.⁴

Once Rome had given its decisions the indescribable confusion soon righted itself, largely owing also to the tactful demeanour of the new Bishop of Peking, the Franciscan Alexander de Govea. Bourgeois wrote to a friend in 1784 that Peking had been given a Bishop that the circumstances demanded; he had settled the dissension in a trice. "We now live in peace, in communion with each other, and in a harmony that buoys me up."⁵ "Since we have had a Bishop we have been living as before, like brothers and friends."⁶

But the removal of dissension was not the only preoccupation

¹ *Ibid.*, 319.

² *Ibid.*, 323.

³ *Ibid.*, 334.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 345 *seqq.* Cf. the Propaganda decree of December 30, 1781 (*Collectanea*, 339, n. 551).

⁵ ROCHEMONTEIX, 377.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 413.

of the mission. Directly they had heard of the suppression of their Society the Peking Jesuits had been thinking of handing over the Chinese mission to another Congregation. At first they had in mind the priests of the mission seminary in Paris ; then, when they declined, the Lazarists, who entered into the Jesuit inheritance elsewhere too.¹ By a decree of Propaganda dated December 7th, 1783, the mission and its property were transferred to this younger Congregation.² Three Lazarists arrived in Peking on April 29th, 1785. Their Superior was a fine mathematician, a pupil of Lalande's, by the name of Raux, and it was he who henceforward was in charge of the mission.³

Even after the arrival of the Lazarists the ritual question was still a live one. Bishop Govea found it necessary to republish the Papal decisions on it, and in one of the Peking churches there were disturbances when they were being read. One of the catechists stood up and called out, " Christians, don't believe a word of this ! The kotow is not superstitious." Some of the Christians seemed to want to force the Bishop to revoke his order, but Govea stood his ground and won the day. Only a few mandarins and some neophytes from the imperial family wanted to keep to the ceremonies. Later the rumour was spread that the Bishop had given a dispensation for the observance of the rites. Consequently, on December 22nd, he ordered his priests to question their penitents in the confessional on their observance of the Papal decrees, and in his Christmas sermon he denied the rumour. His opponents were by now on the point of arraigning him before the mandarins, on the charge of wanting to stamp out filial love and the Chinese customs, but the storm gradually subsided.⁴ There was trouble over the ritual question outside Peking too, at Su-chou, for instance. No wonder that the Congregation of the Holy Office showed surprise when the question came again from there, if

¹ *Ibid.*, 386.

² *Ibid.*, 391.

³ *Ibid.*, 394.

⁴ *Mémoires de la Congrégation de la Mission*, VI., 696 seq.

the kotow before the coffin was permissible as a purely civil ceremony.¹ As it was difficult, said some missionaries, to dissuade the Christians from making obeisances to the coffin,² they were advising the faithful not to begin the ceremonies associated with burial until the coffin with the deceased had been committed to the earth. Even this the Holy Office would not allow unless it was the only way of forestalling the obeisances.

At the end of the eighteenth century Sze-ch'wan was proving to be the most fruitful field for the Chinese mission. Under Pius VI. its director was still Pottier, the heroic prelate who, when he died on September 28th, 1792, had been performing his arduous pastoral labours for thirty-five years. He had always been true to the Holy See and with the courage of a martyr he had not shrunk even to surrender himself to the mandarins rather than that his Christians should suffer molestation. Escaping from captivity, he went straight back to his mission.³ In the reports on his labours and those of his companions there were continual complaints about persecutions,⁴ nevertheless Christianity progressed. In one year alone 2,124 catechumens had been instructed and 1,508 adults had been baptized.⁵ In 1794 there were 2,527 catechumens and 1,500 adult baptisms.⁶ The three native priests—Pottier was writing as early as 1772⁷—had more than enough to do ; when

¹ Decision of Propaganda, April 10, 1777 (*Collectanea*, I., 318, n. 521).

² " . . . cum difficile admodum sit, christianos avertere a prostrationum praxi . . . "

³ A biographical sketch in *Nouvelles lettres édifiantes des Missions de la Chine et des Indes Orientales*, III., Paris, 1818, 79 seqq. Cf. our account, vol. XXXVII, 421.

⁴ Numerous reports in *Nouvelles lettres édif.*, I.–III. Cf. LAUNAY, *La Mission de Se-tchoan*, II., Paris, 1920.

⁵ *Nouvelles lettres édif.*, III., 45.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 225.

⁷ *Ibid.*, I., 164. In 1789 there were five European and twelve native priests in Sze-ch'wan (LAUNAY, *loc. cit.*, I., 641) ; Pottier ordained twelve native priests, his successor seven (up to 1799 ;

a new missionary appeared on the scene the different districts almost fought for his possession. This scarcity of priests was the great handicap. There was no hope of reinforcements from France ; the college for native priests that had been set up at Szu-ch'wan itself was the only hope for the mission, but with its ten students it was having a struggle for existence.¹

Pottier also opened schools for girls, of which there were sixty in Sze-ch'wan in the year 1800. For his teachers he drew on Chinese women, who agreed to take a vow of virginity. In reply to a question put by Pottier in 1784 Propaganda ruled that such a vow was not to be taken in China before the twenty-fifth year, the teachers must not be less than thirty years old, and the classes were not to be held in any building that happened to be available.² Dufresse, afterwards to suffer martyrdom, wrote in 1796 that the schools were doing well and that in his mission he had six for boys and ten for girls.³ In view of all these solid achievements Pius VI. had just cause to address a Brief of encouragement and praise to Pottier and his coadjutor Saint-Martin on March 24th, 1787.⁴

The Franciscan missions in Shan-si and Shen-si were disturbed by internal strife after 1799. The Vicar Apostolic, De Mandello, took action against native priests who practised the Chinese rites and for so doing he was suspended from his office by the Visitor Conforti from Peking, until he succeeded in justifying his action.⁵ In the persecution of 1784-5 eleven

ibid., 8 seq.). Much of the instruction was done by the missionary Moye (*ibid.*, 496-513) ; for his writings (ascetics, dictionary, theological textbook), *v. ibid.*, 446 seqq., 535.

¹ *Nouvelles lettres édif.*, III., 226, 243.

² *Collectanea* of the Propaganda, n. 569 ; PIOLET, III., 249 seq.

³ *Nouvelles lettres édif.*, III., 246.

⁴ Copy *ibid.*, II., 439. *Ius pontif.*, IV., 432 : authority, dated August 8, 1798, for Saint-Martin and his successors to appoint coadjutors with the right of succession.

⁵ RICCI, *Vicariatus Taiyuanfu, s. brevis historia antiquae Franciscanae missionis Shansi et Shensi 1700-1928*, Peking, 1929, 38 seqq., 51 seqq. ; CHARDIN, *Les Missions Franciscaines en Chine*, Paris, 1915, 50, 130.

Franciscans were imprisoned.¹ It is curious that the same questions that had been raised by Jansenism in the French missionaries' native land cropped up again in distant China. An edict of Propaganda dated April 29th, 1784, and destined for Szu-ch'wan,² reminded the missionaries that the sacramental penance was not to be performed before the granting of absolution and that public penances were not to be imposed for private sins. "If the missionaries were to reflect on the Church's prescriptions on the suspension of absolution they would easily see if those priests are worthy of praise who on account of the sublimity of the Eucharist demand a quite extraordinary and hardly possible preparation." In general, the excessive strictness that had manifested itself in connexion with Jansenism in Europe appeared in China too. Some of the missionaries constrained the Chinese Christians to perform external penances³ and even advanced the principle that for the Chinese the yoke should be weighted rather than lightened.⁴ This may explain why some missionaries complained of the poor results obtained from their work and why some even left their communities because their work had met with no success, although, they said, neither the faith nor the practice of prayer had died out there.⁵

The paying of homage to Confucius when taking a degree was still being practised by lettered Christians in 1798. Some even thought they had shown heroic courage in obtaining, by means of bribes, the acceptance of their excuse of sudden indisposition for not participating in the ceremonies.⁶

¹ LEMMENS, 147 *seq.* ; PICOT, V., 207 *seqq.*

² *Collectanea*, 350, n. 569.

³ "... de orationibus, ieiuniis, abstinentiis, vigiliis, corporis cruciatibus aliisque consuetudinibus, quas aliqui missionarii tui bono quidem zelo, sed nimia forsitan austeritate, cui plurimum addicti sunt, permoti ad istos christianos invexerunt." *Ibid.*, 355.

⁴ " *Haud nobis probari potuit opinio illa, quae apud plures missionarios isthic recepta videtur, vid. iugum Sinensibus aggravandum potius esse quam minuendum." *Ibid.*, 356.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 350, 355.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 392, n. 643 ; Propaganda decree of January 7, 1948.

It was under Pius VI. that the Gospel was brought to Korea for the first time. A well-born literate, Ni-tek-tso, chanced upon some Christian books and was attracted by their contents. A friend of his who was going with an embassy to Peking came into touch with Bishop Govea, was baptized, and on his return baptized Ni-tek-tso. In 1794 a priest coming to Korea found that there were already 4,000 Christians there.¹ A persecution began immediately, though for a time the king calmed down on being told that the Christian religion was in high repute in Peking.² In other ways too, both outside as well as inside the capital, the reputation acquired by the Jesuits of Peking through their scientific activities stood the Chinese missions in good stead. The Portuguese Jesuit Da Rocha, who went to Little Tibet in 1777, on the emperor's behalf, to map out some districts that had lately been conquered, took this opportunity to effect the release of the Sulpician missionary Gleyo, who had long been imprisoned.³

(6)

By far the most important feature of the history of the missions in the pontificate of Pius VI. was the initial growth of the Catholic Church in the English possessions in North America.⁴ In Canada, in 1764, the British Government had shown signs of intending to extend to this wholly Catholic colony the persecuting laws that were in force in England, but in 1774 it found it more expedient to grant the Catholics there freedom to practice their religion, by means of the so-called Quebec Act.⁵ At the beginning of the American

¹ PIOLET, III., 385 ; *Nouvelles lettres édif.*, II., 42.

² *Ibid.*

³ Report from Bishop Saint-Martin (*ibid.*, I., 248). For Korea, v. SCHMIDLIN, 393 *seqq.* ; *Die kath. Missionen*, 1875, 160 *seq.* ; 1896, 1 *seqq.*

⁴ BAUMGARTNER, in the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XI. (1876), 18 *seqq.*, XV. (1878), 117 *seqq.*, 282 *seqq.* ; GILMORE SHEA, *Archbishop Carroll of Baltimore*, New York, 1888.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 133.

War of Independence the Congress of Philadelphia violently reproached the mother country for this concession,¹ but soon the founders of the United States also found it politically inadvisable to give any encouragement in the constitution of the general union to Protestant ardour, which in any case was no longer so lively in that age of "enlightenment".² A mission formed in 1776 to obtain the participation of Canada in the war of independence did not disdain to include the former Jesuit John Carroll, on account of his knowledge of the French language, and one of the reasons, certainly not the least important one, why Canada declined to take up arms against England was the edict of toleration towards Catholics. Other factors, such as the bravery of the Irish brigade and the support of Catholic France, also played their part in inducing the leading circles to derive from the much vaunted principle of universal freedom the freedom to practise one's religion, including Catholicism. "I am presuming," Washington informed the Catholic delegation that congratulated him on his acceptance of the presidency, "that your fellow-citizens will never forget the patriotic part that you have played in carrying through the revolution and in building up the constitution, or the important help they have received from a nation which professes the Roman Catholic faith."

After the separation of the United States from England it was obvious that the Catholic Church in the colonies would similarly have to be freed from its dependence on the Vicar Apostolic in London. A petition to this effect was addressed to the Holy See on September 6th, 1783, and on July 28th of the same year Doria, the nuncio to France, had handed to the American ambassador, Franklin, a note to Congress on the matter.³ He received the reply that the assent of Congress was unnecessary as the Constitution permitted the unrestricted organization of all religious associations. At the end of 1784 John Carroll was nominated Prefect Apostolic and this was

¹ BAUMGARTNER, *loc. cit.*, XI., 23.

² Things were different when it came to the attitude of the various States of the Union. SHEA, 47 *seqq.*

³ *Ibid.*, ch. 5.

followed on April 6th, 1789, by the erection of the see of Baltimore and Carroll's nomination as its first Bishop.¹ There were at that time in the North American colonies 25,000 Catholics served by twenty-four priests. A synod met on November 7th, 1791, and an academy for the training of priests was opened in Georgetown, the staff being supplied, at Carroll's request, by Sulpicians. In 1790 convents for nuns were established.

Even in wholly Protestant Sweden better times seemed to be in store for the Catholics.² Religious freedom, at least for foreigners within the realm, was granted by the Estates on January 26th, 1779, and on January 24th, 1781, Gustavus III. decreed the free exercise of their religion, to some extent at least, for the Catholics. When replying to the Pope's letter of thanks, Gustavus III. asked him to provide the Catholics in Sweden with a Prefect Apostolic. Pius VI. appointed to the post a priest from the diocese of Metz, named Oster. He was recommended to the king in a Papal letter³ and met with a gracious reception at his hands. The first Mass celebrated by Oster was attended by the king's brother, the Duke of Söderman Land, and the music was supplied by the royal orchestra. The free practice of religion was, however, still impeded by some irksome regulations and Swedes were not allowed to go over to the Catholic Church.

At about the same time religious rights were granted to both Catholics and Calvinists by the senate in Hamburg.⁴

(7)

In the first half of his pontificate glad news from the mission fields was received quite frequently by Pius VI., but in

¹ *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 3, 3131; *Ius pontif.*, IV., 344.

² METZLER, *Vikariat*, 198 seqq.; PICOT, V., 146-150. Gustavus III.'s edict in THEINER, *Sammlung einiger wichtigen Aktenstücke zur Gesch. der Emanzipation der Katholiken in England*, Mainz, 1835, 77 seqq.

³ Of March 22, 1783, THEINER, *Epist. Clementis XIV.*, 382.

⁴ PICOT, V., 150.

his later years events took place in rapid succession that threatened the very life-nerve of missionary work. The destruction of the religious Orders, which supplied the missionaries, had already begun under Clement XIV. and it advanced still further under his successor. The first act of violence committed by the French revolutionaries in this respect was the sacking of the mother house of the Lazarist Congregation in Paris on the night of July 12th, 1789.¹ In the following year the National Assembly decreed the destruction of all the religious Orders.² The refusal to take the oath of loyalty to the civil constitution of the clergy led to the closing of the Seminary for Foreign Missions. The directors of the institute tried to carry on their work from Rome, Amiens, and England, but the war between England and France hindered the departure of the missionaries.³ The Lazarists, who had replaced the Jesuits in the missions in so many places, were now able to supply but few missionaries⁴; financial support for the missions dwindled more and more⁵; and the attempt to recruit French *émigré* priests for the missions was not successful.⁶

When they seized possession of Rome the revolutionaries laid their hands on the very centre of the missionary world. After General Berthier had occupied the Eternal City in 1798 and had forced the Pope to leave, "Citizen" Haller, the son of the famous poet and naturalist, suppressed the Propaganda as "a completely useless institution" by a decree of March 15th, 1798. Its extensive library was sacked and its archives were about to be sold as wastepaper when they were saved by an intercession coming from high places. The college buildings, the church, from which Tournon's monument was removed, and the printing type, which could be used, said

¹ *Mémoires sur la dévastation de la maison de Saint-Lazare*, in JAUFFRET, I., 260 seq.; PRAT, 245 seqq.; PICOT, V., 363 seqq.

² See our account, vol. XL., ch. iv.

³ LAUNAY, *Hist. gén.*, II., 273, 277, 295.

⁴ *Rev. d'hist. des Missions*, 1925, 323.

⁵ LAUNAY, *La Mission de Se-tchoan*, II., 41.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 301 seqq.

the revolutionaries, "for proclaiming liberty to the universe," were confiscated. The students were sent back to their homes in 1798; ten of them who stayed behind were taken by Paccanari—the same priest who was trying to restore the Society of Jesus under another name—to the hermitages near Spoleto, but he had to bring them back. Soon after becoming Pope, Pius VII. found some of these students imprisoned in the Castel S. Angelo and he sent them home.¹ When the States of the Church were annexed by France, the college was allowed to continue, and the expenses of the Propaganda were met by the Empire.²

When Propaganda had been dissolved, Pius VI. had given its secretary, Cesare Brancadoro, full powers to transact its business as before. Brancadoro proceeded to do so, at first in Rome for a time, then in Padua, until the beginning of October 1799, and thenceforward, unto the end of May 1800, in Venice. From the end of 1800 onwards Propaganda seems to have resumed its regular activity.³

¹ SCHMIDLIN, in the *Zeitschrift für Missionswiss.*, 1931, 360. On 17 Floréal, an 6, thirty-nine cases containing all manner of alphabets were taken from the Propaganda printing-press and sent to Paris. They were followed by the presses, other apparatus, and finally twenty more cases containing Greek and Latin characters. Cf. *Köln. Volkszeitung*, of July 24, 1904, No. 606.

² MORONI, *Diz.*, XIX., 224 seq.

³ SCHMIDLIN, *loc. cit.*, 1922, 112.

CHAPTER VIII.

JOSEPH II.'s ECCLESIASTICAL LEGISLATION IN AUSTRIA— PIUS VI.'s JOURNEY TO VIENNA AND JOSEPH II.'s TO ROME.

(1)

BRASCHI's elevation to the supreme control of the Church was not to the liking of the Austrian Cabinet, but on being informed of the election the empress expressed her sincere pleasure in unambiguous terms,¹ so that Kaunitz too had to abandon his objection to Braschi's candidature, and he now stated that he was satisfied with the new Pope.²

From the very start Pius VI. showed his willingness to agree to any reasonable desire on the part of the Austrian Cabinet. One of the first proposals put forward by the empress was the diminution of the festivals celebrated by the Catholics of the Greek rite. Herzan, who from now on, at Maria Theresa's desire, was Austria's representative in Rome in all ecclesiastical questions, obtained for the Court of Vienna, with Cardinal Conti's consent, two Briefs for the Uniat Bishops, which could be used at will. One called for the specification of the feast-days which Rome was asked to suppress, the other empowered the Bishops to announce themselves, as they thought fit, the feasts which were considered superfluous.³

But the Pope's accommodating attitude notwithstanding, it was soon to be seen that the new anti-clerical currents of thought, which had already been spreading under Clement XIII., were flowing more strongly than ever. The Archbishop of Vienna, Cardinal Migazzi, had been keeping a watchful eye on the dangerous trend of affairs and had not been afraid

¹ ARNETH, IX., 571. Except for the second section (2), this chapter is largely the work of Professor Vierneisel of Heidelberg.

² *Ibid.*, 134 seq.

³ *Ibid.*, 135 seqq.; BRUNNER, *Theolog. Dienerschaft*, 22 seq.

to express his misgivings to many persons, including the empress herself, though he knew it might bring him into disfavour. For a long time now he had been convinced that the decay of ecclesiastical life could only be checked if the holders of the important posts in the Government were replaced. In February, 1775, he made it clear¹ that no improvement could be hoped for so long as such men as the prelate of Braunau, Abbot Rautenstrauch, Court Councillor Heinke, and Professor Eybel retained their posts. Above all he urged that the teaching of canon law be considered as a theological, and not a secular, discipline and that the Church should not merely possess those rights which the sovereign had conceded from sheer good-will.

Among the chief representatives of the new system Migazzi had omitted to include one name which, so far as principles and theory are concerned, should have been mentioned in the very first place—that of the South Tirolese Martini.² In the spring of 1754, when he was only twenty-seven, Martini had been entrusted with the task of teaching the newly-introduced subject of “natural law” in the university of Vienna. In this capacity he took a decisive step in going beyond the point of view adopted by Riegger and was the first man in Austria to attempt to justify the State’s supremacy in ecclesiastical matters in virtue of its “nature”, that is to say the rationalistic idea of the State. Thus he deduced from the State’s authority to legislate its complete and unrestricted right to dispose of ecclesiastical property and persons, to permit or reject the provisions of canon law, to tolerate or suppress other beliefs.³ From the so-called supervisory authority he derived the unrestricted right of inspection of ecclesiastical affairs, the right of directing and convoking synods, of prohibiting ecclesiastical vows injurious to the State. Finally, from the executive power of the State he

¹ WOLFSGRUBER, *Migazzi*, 351.

² STINTZING-LANDSBERG, *Gesch. der Rechtswissenschaft*, III., 521; ARNETH, IX., 191 *seqq.*; KINK, *Universität Wien*, I., 1, 469, n. 609; II., 2, 303 *seqq.*

³ STINTZING-LANDSBERG, *loc. cit.*, 383 *seq.*

derived the right to remove from office and punish "rebellious" clerics and to protect the members of the Church from their superiors' abuse of their office.

Not only did Martini inculcate this cæsaropapalistic doctrine on future officials from his professorial chair, he also saw that it was put into practice, in his capacity as member of the Court Commissions of censorship and studies,¹ as Court Councillor to the supreme court of justice, as member of the commission for ecclesiastical affairs, as Court Councillor to the Court Chancery of Bohemian-Austria and in other capacities, though it must also be admitted that this same Martini frequently brought forward conciliatory proposals in the ensuing clashes between the Church and State.

For the practical realization of these new ideas, however, Abbot Rautenstrauch of Braunau² was of far greater importance. He had gained the attention and approval of the Austrian Government³ through a treatise on canon law⁴ which the Archbishop of Prague wanted to have condemned, and in 1774 he was commissioned to devise a scheme for the reform of theological studies. This too was received with approval. He was made director of the theological faculty in Prague, where he carried out his reform, and then, by a decree of November 11th, 1774, he became director of the faculty in Vienna. In this capacity and as assessor on the Court Commission for studies and in the college of censors he exercised a dominant influence until his death in 1785.

¹ It is significant that the suppression of the professorship of canon law in the faculty of theology was ascribed to him, while that in the juristic faculty was allowed to continue. Cf. ARNETH, IX., 192.

² To be distinguished from Johann Rautenstrauch, a contemporary of his (*Allg. Deutsche Biogr.*, XXVII., 460 seq.). For the abbot, cf. *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, X²., 818 seq.; *Allg. Deutsche Biogr.*, XXVII., 459 seq.; STINTZING-LANDSBERG, III., 382 seq. Garampi reported on his dangerous influence on July 8, 1776; THÖT, in the *Röm. Quartalschrift*, XXXIV. (1926), 353 seq.

³ ARNETH, IX., 190.

⁴ *Prolegomena in ius ecclesiasticum* (1769).

He made his mark most notably through his reorganization in 1774 of theological studies, necessitated in the Austrian universities by the suppression of the Jesuits. According to his principles, the theologian was to be trained only in subjects which would further "the cure of souls and consequently the State". The paramount duty of the theologian was to transmit to the people the doctrines of faith and morals.

Rautenstrauch's scheme of reform, which was actuated exclusively by motives of expediency,¹ was approved not only by the commission for studies but even by most of the Bishops. Only the Bishop of Erlau definitely disapproved of it, though Migazzi distrusted the spirit and the object of the plan.² The scheme was sanctioned by the empress on August 1st, and October 3rd saw the publication, in its final shape, of the "Constitution of the Theological Faculty", which Rautenstrauch had drawn up in agreement with the Provost of St. Dorothea, Ignaz Müller, and certain professors, some slight attention having been paid to the opinions of the Bishops.³

This new order of studies diverted the whole of religious training in Austria, and shortly afterwards that of the whole of Catholic Germany too, into new channels. It demanded from the young priest a knowledge and interpretation of the Scriptures according to the original text. Twice as much time as before was to be allotted to church history and this subject too was to be used for training the student in scientific and critical appreciation. The selection of material was not based on the inner pragmatality of development but solely with a view to its practical applicability. These two subjects, supplemented by the study of the Church Fathers and the history of Christian literature, occupied the first two years of the course, the main subjects of the next two years being dogmatics, moral philosophy, and canon law. In dogmatics

¹ KINK, I, I, 523, n. 703; JAGER, in the *Zeitschrift für kath. Theol.*, II. (1878), 460 seqq.

² KINK, 525 seqq.

³ The chief documents in ZSCHOKKE, 35 seqq.

a strict distinction was to be drawn between fundamental truths and derivative truths, between dogmas and the opinions of schools ; the last were to be set forth and estimated only from the historical aspect. Moral philosophy was just as important as dogmatics and was to be developed more fully than before. Finally a fifth year was to be devoted to apologetics and, especially, pastoral theology, a " school " whose promotion to an independent place in theology was most in conformity with the practical spirit of the age. Significantly this was the first subject to be taught in the German language, on account of the popular use to which it was to be put, and thus the first breach was made in the closed ring of theological academic Latinity.

This syllabus gave rise to endless arguments between Rautenstrauch and Cardinal Migazzi until finally the empress limited its period of validity to five years. The Archbishop of Vienna's chief objection was to the total exclusion of the episcopal authority from the training of the priest.¹ Later, Rautenstrauch's syllabus was replaced by another which had far graver implications.

How well Rautenstrauch's ideas fitted in with those of the Austrian Government may be gauged from the fact that in the following year Maria Theresa gave him another important commission. To obviate the controversial cases which were continually recurring² he was to make a new compilation of articles of canon law which would then serve as a sort of official Austrian canon law applicable to all the schools. The draft of this "*Synopsis*" which the prelate submitted to the empress was also passed by her to Migazzi, for his opinion. This time Rautenstrauch's work was so high-handed that Migazzi condemned it outright.³ It was, he wrote, neither clear nor pure, but suspicious, scandalous, and erroneous,

¹ WOLFSGRUBER, 319 *seqq.*

² According to the empress's letter to the director of the faculty of jurisprudence on October 14, 1775. KINK, I., 1, 535. Cf. WOLFSGRUBER, 356 *seqq.*

³ *Ibid.*, for Migazzi's opinion, covering 194 folio pages.

and from many of the articles a Catholic sense could only be extracted by force. The work was permeated with Febronian ideas, the right of the State was stretched so far that it touched on the most sacred questions, such as the sacrifice of the Mass and the ordination of priests, and it demanded the open toleration of heretical cults.

This did not shake the empress's confidence in the man she had chosen to be the creator of the new canon law, though she ordered him to improve his draft and to elaborate it in consultation with Migazzi. Apparently an agreement was reached with difficulty, though the Cardinal did not withhold or suppress his reservations, since the "*Synopsis*", with its 253 articles, appeared in print in 1776.¹ By a decree signed by the empress on October 6th it was declared to be authoritative for the higher schools and those managed by the religious Orders. Migazzi protested against this and also the simultaneous introduction into all the schools of Riegger's canon law.² On this occasion he was supported by the Cardinal Bishop of Passau, Count Firmian. Both these protests were simply disallowed by the Viennese Court Commission for Studies, which offered some evasive statements by way of explanation.³ Only the empress showed a certain sympathy by relieving Migazzi personally of the responsibility of publishing the decree and by instructing Martini to try and reach some understanding with Migazzi on the subject of Riegger's textbook.⁴ Martini's attempts at mediation, however, made no impression on the obdurate insistence of the reforming party, particularly Prince Kaunitz.

But the spoken word of the teacher was more effective than the printed one of the text-book, so that it was much to be regretted that Riegger's empty chair should have been

¹ *Synopsis iuris ecclesiastici publici et privati, quod per terras haereditarias aug. Imperatricis Mar. Theresiae obtinet*, Vienna, 1776. Extracts in BEIDTEL, 274 seqq. Cf. JÄGER, *loc. cit.*, 463.

² WOLFSGRUBER, 366 seqq.

³ KINK, I., I, 536 seq.

⁴ WOLFSGRUBER, 369 seq.

occupied in 1773 by his pupil and favourite, Valentin Eybel,¹ who followed faithfully in the footsteps of his master. In 1777 Eybel published a new, four-volumed text-book on canon law² that left Rautenstrauch's *Synopsis* far behind and was in open and unmistakable contradiction to the Church's teaching on fundamental questions. Now at last Maria Theresa allowed herself to be convinced and relieved Eybel of his Viennese professorship.³ She took similar action against the church historian Ferdinand Stöger, of Vienna, whose object was to disparage the Roman Church to the advantage of all its enemies and who had written a most pernicious text-book on church history.⁴

The State's campaign to control, on its own authority, the whole system of ecclesiastical instruction, succeeded still further. There was already a law by which the higher schools of the religious Orders had to assimilate completely their teaching activity to the faculty in Vienna, and in 1775 a fresh instruction was sent to the Orders: to obtain complete uniformity in ecclesiastical training the houses of study in the various provinces were to be concentrated in Vienna, and only those lecturers were to be employed who could produce a certificate from a university or a higher "Gymnasium".⁵ In the next few years supplementary regulations were issued,

¹ For his superficial knowledge, cf. SCHULTE, *Gesch. der Quellen*, III., I, 255; STINTZING-LANDSBERG, III., 384; KINK, I., I, 507, n. 670; ARNETH, IX., 189.

² *Introductio in ius ecclesiasticum catholicorum*. The title speaks volumes. For its insertion in the Index on February 16, 1784, v. REUSCH, II., 940.

³ WOLFSGRUBER, 375 seqq. Eybel was in the service of the Austrian State until 1805, firstly at Linz, where he was prominent in the suppression of the monasteries, finally in Innsbruck.

⁴ *Introductio in historiam ecclesiasticam Novi Testamenti*, 1776. Cf. WOLFSGRUBER, 325 seqq. According to REUSCH (*Allg. Deutsche Biogr.*, XXXVI., 319), Pius VI. wrote to the empress about the book. It is typical of the Josephian decade that Stöger was nevertheless appointed director of the general seminary in Louvain, in 1786. In the same year he translated his book into German.

⁵ WOLFSGRUBER, 333 seq.

whereby theologians belonging to religious Orders were also to be examined in public and private canon law, the examiner, as in the case of secular priests, to be a State teacher.¹ A further restriction, this time even of episcopal rights regarding the employment in the cure of souls of those already ordained, Migazzi was able to obviate at the last moment.²

By and large, however, it was inevitable that the spirit that in the reign of Maria Theresa made its way into the highest positions in the State and into the teaching staff of the university, would soon dominate the civil service and the clergy. What was most fatal of all was that Maria Theresa's son and successor was guided by the same principles and struck out on the path that had been laid for him, with far less hesitation.

The spirit that moved Joseph II. had already been manifested when he was co-regent. He was to be the first independent emperor to come from the House of Lorraine, from those Franco-German border lands, therefore, where Febronianism had developed. Even in his early youth the prince had been instructed about the frontiers of the spiritual and temporal powers, and no time had been lost in instructing him about the "Roman art of dissimulation". To supplement these lessons he had had to read such authors as Bossuet, Pufendorf, and Muratori.³ A contemporary of his, Duke Albrecht of Sachsen-Teschen, who was afterwards to be his brother-in-law, described him at the age of twenty as having many good qualities, and richly endowed with talent and ability, but as possessing only a superficial learning.⁴ His manner was open and engaging and on his journey to Naples in 1769 it had charmed both the courtiers and the common people.⁵

True to the way in which he had been trained, Joseph, even when only twenty years of age, expressed his principles of State absolutism with singular clarity: "Everything belongs to the State. This word embraces everything, so that everyone

¹ *Ibid.*, 331, 334.

² *Ibid.*, 334 *seqq.*

³ ARNETH, IV., 158 *seqq.*

⁴ ADAM WOLF, *Fürstin Eleanore Liechtenstein*, 119 *seq.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 95 *seqq.*

must contribute to its good." In his memorial of 1761¹ two basic thoughts are prominent: the unlimited authority of the State for the good of the commonweal, and the procurement of the means the State requires to maintain itself without assistance. All his subsequent activity was informed by these two ideas.

His activity was feverish. As soon as he became co-regent in 1765 he applied himself to the most varied tasks with a bustling energy that was to know no rest for a full quarter of a century. An extensive memorandum on the situation of the monarchy which he prepared at the end of this year² contains the nucleus of the government programme which was carried out fifteen years later. We find here the guiding principles for his decrees on the management of the censorship and education, on monasteries and monks, on pious foundations and parochial organization, even on his policy of toleration. Another memorandum, of March 1768,³ addressed to his brother, Leopold of Tuscany, shows his attitude towards the Papacy, which must be described as completely Febronian. Nevertheless, in his dealings with Rome, his tone, though very firm, was courteous and not without respect. He only wished, he said, that Rome knew how to appreciate the rights of political sovereignty.⁴

What is quite certain is that personally Joseph was a God-fearing man. The religious upbringing he had received from his mother and the example she had set him seem to have had an effect on him that lasted the whole of his life.⁵ One notes a slackening of religious ardour in his later years, but he never omitted to attend Mass on Sundays, even when he was travelling.⁶ One example of his personal seriousness was the

¹ April 3. ARNETH, VI., 65.

² ARNETH, *Korrespondenz*, III., 335 *seqq.*

³ ARNETH, III., 27 *seq.*

⁴ Letter to Pope Clement XIII. (ARNETH, *Korrespondenz*, I., 277, n. 1).

⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, 128, 248; G. WOLF, in the supplement to the *Allg. Zeitung*, 1881, No. 268; MITROFANOV, II., 674.

⁶ He attended Sunday Mass, for instance, in Munich on April 6,

farewell letter he wrote his sister Marie Antoinette in the summer of 1770, when she was leaving for her marriage in Versailles ; it was a letter of admonition that showed a real solicitude.¹

But there were other features in the character of this absolutist monarch that were more prominent. The most deep-seated motive of his reformatory zeal seems to have been a strong urge to be different from other people. The memorandum he wrote at the beginning of his co-regency contains the following passage : " It would be more comfortable and easier for me to be guided by, and to act in accordance with, the clear ideas of someone else, rather than have to convert the whole world, like another Apostle, to my way of thinking. The former may be much easier, but the latter is not impossible for me, and it tickles my vanity. Apart from my duty, it is the only thing that determines my actions and could make me capable of racking my brains with pleasure." ²

This was why he regarded everything that was still existing as insufficient and reprehensible, and why he was always devising alterations in every direction, and this in its turn explains his multiplicity of occupations and his mania for planning. During his co-regency, when his mother was on the spot, he was unable to put much into practice, but it was then that he formed innumerable plans that could be carried out at a more favourable opportunity. Maria Theresa allowed him to have some influence in the spheres of finance, war, and, here and there, in foreign policy, but she kept him away entirely from what attracted him most : educational and ecclesiastico-political affairs. As a result, Joseph, who already in the '60s was the head and the hope of the friends of " enlightenment ", finally held entirely opposite views to his

1777, in Freiburg i.B. on July 20, and in Munich again on August 12, 1781. Cf. BRUNNER, *Humor*, I., 180 seq. ; *id.*, *Theolog. Dienerschaft*, 445 ; ARNETH, *Korrespondenz*, II., 150.

¹ ARNETH, *Marie Antoinette, Joseph II. und Leopold — ihr Briefwechsel* (1866), 17.

² ARNETH, *Korrespondenz*, II., 361. A good character study of Joseph II. in *Hist.-pol. Blätter*, XXVII., 635 seqq.

mother's on these questions, which led, from time to time, to open conflicts. But the extra weight of the maternal authority always restored the balance.

In the December of 1775, however, it came to an argument between mother and son on the question of principles, in the course of which Maria Theresa openly expressed her misgivings about her son's ideas of liberty.¹ Subsequently, in the summer of 1777, the main point on which they differed was the subject of that unique correspondence in which two generations faced each other in opposition.² To the measures taken by the empress against the Bohemian peasants who had fallen away from the Church Joseph opposed his unshakable principle: diversity of religion is only injurious to the State when combined with fanaticism and cleavage; wherefore both groups are to be treated exactly the same, and the rest will come right of itself.³ A few days later Joseph formulated his idea of toleration in even clearer terms: "Have freedom of belief, and there will be only *one* religion: the guidance of all the inhabitants in equal measure for the good of the State."⁴ The empress's reply shows the extreme alarm with which she viewed these principles. She could only console herself with the hope that Joseph could not really mean what he said, "otherwise, so far as religion is concerned, there would be nothing left to ruin."⁵ In his reply Joseph did in fact correct himself and rejected all idea of religious indifference: "I would give all I have for all the Protestants in Your lands to become Catholics." But he still held to his fundamental demand for official toleration,⁶ and when he learnt in Bohemia itself of the measures which had been taken there by the

¹ ARNETH, *Korrespondenz*, II., 94 seq., 99. Cf. also a statement of the empress's in 1769, in KÜNTZEL, *Kaunitz*, 61.

² Cf. GOTHEIN, *Der Breisgau unter Maria Theresia und Joseph II.*, 10.

³ Joseph II. to Maria Theresa on June 19, 1777 (ARNETH, *Korrespondenz*, II., 140 seq.).

⁴ *Ibid.*, 141 seq.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 146.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 151 seq.

empress the whole dissension broke out again within him, and he wrote,¹ " In so important a matter I shall stand firm, and if I must give way it will only happen by my letting the whole world know that things are being done in spite of my protest."

It is significant, however, that almost in the thick of this dispute, when his travels took him close to Voltaire's home at Ferney, Joseph ostentatiously refrained from giving the philosopher the satisfaction of a visit, in spite of the preparations that had been made for his reception.²

The great respect that Joseph had for his mother, in spite of everything, was shown most deeply at the time of her death. In 1780 Pope Pius VI. had shown her still another mark of his gratitude by nominating her youngest son, Archduke Maximilian, Coadjutor of Cologne and Münster.³ A few weeks later Maria Theresa fell seriously ill, and public prayers were ordered to be said. On November 29th, 1780, she gave back her pious soul to God.⁴ The loss hit Joseph very hard,⁵ although it gave him the absolute power he had so long desired. Under date December 27th the Pope sent him a letter of condolence.⁶ Meanwhile Joseph had taken hold of himself again in order, as he wrote to his brother Leopold,⁷ to prepare minds for the changes which were so necessary and which he

¹ On October 5, 1777, *ibid.*, 166.

² Joseph II. to " the five ladies " on July 16, 1777 (A. WOLF, *Eleonore von Liechtenstein*, 145). Cf. EDUARD CASTLE in the *Österr. Rundschau*, 1908-9, 147 *seqq.* As late as 1789 the emperor stopped the printing of an edition of Voltaire's works in Vienna.

³ GENDRY, I., 211.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 212 ; ARNETH, *Korrespondenz*, X., 731.

⁵ Cf. his letters to Leopold on December 4 and 14, 1780 (ARNETH, *Korrespondenz*, III., 325, 328).

⁶ GENDRY, I., 215. A little ill-feeling was caused on this occasion by the Pope's failure to make a consistorial allocution and hold a memorial service, as was customary on the death of a male sovereign. Cf. Herzan's reports of December 20, 1780, and January 27, 1781, in BRUNNER, *Theolog. Dienerschaft*, 56, 58 *seqq.*

⁷ On December 11, 1780 (ARNETH, *Korrespondenz*, III., 327).

had long been storing in his brain. The classic decade of Josephism, to which he gave its name, had now begun.

Joseph II.'s ecclesiastical policy, and this is what we think of first when Josephism in its narrower sense is under consideration, was first and foremost political and can only be understood aright when viewed from the standpoint of the emperor's political principles. He had before his eyes as a model of successful rulership Frederick II. of Prussia, with whom he knew he would have to reckon as an opponent sooner or later.¹ As a preliminary step towards such a reckoning, and an indispensable condition for it, it seemed urgently necessary to reshape the extremely multiform Austrian state in order to obtain the greatest possible uniformity.² "The coalescence of the countries in the idea of the State," "the United State of Austria"—these were some of the ways in which the provisional goal of the enterprising emperor has been described.³ His governmental activity, therefore, did not merely mean a heightening of the zest for work and the rate of work; it bears the impress of a special kind; a new spirit enters into the political life of Austria. The change becomes more and more evident as it gathers speed and directness. Now even the Imperial Chancellor, Prince Kaunitz, only acquiesced in it with misgiving.

This violent change in the Austrian body politic inevitably induced a revolution from above on the largest possible scale.⁴ The Catholic Church, even in most recent times the strongest

¹ L. RANKE, *Die deutschen Mächte und der Fürstenbund. Sämtl. Werke*, XXXI.-XXXII., 2. For "Josephism", cf. RÖSCH, in the *Archiv. für kath. Kirchenrecht*, LXXXIV. (1904), 56 seqq., also *Hist.-pol. Blätter*, XXIII., 441 seqq., 526 seqq.

² The natural wealth of the country was lauded, for instance, by the Venetian ambassador Venier in his "relazione" of 1769, *Fontes rerum austr.*, II., 22 seq., 313.

³ RANKE, *loc. cit.*, 39 seq.

⁴ Joseph II.'s disregard of the traditional character of the Austrian political system sowed the first seeds of national discontent among the non-German sections of the population. Cf. *Hist.-pol. Blätter*, CLX., 648.

bond of union between the various nationalities of which this vast State was composed, was to be stripped of its traditional privileges. To whom were the ecclesiastical principalities of the Empire to turn for support now that their mighty saviour, Austria, was failing them? The Church was no longer to enjoy universal respect, as a value superior to all others; it was to be reduced to the rank of an assistant and handmaid of the almighty State and its welfare. In bringing this about, Joseph II. was always fully convinced of the justice of his demands and could very easily reconcile them with his religious sentiments. The idea that he was emperor by the grace of God was still alive. It would hardly be just to deny him and his leading supporters a real interest in religion, even if they did appreciate it mostly on account of its necessity for the existence of the State. From this too it is evident that all the ecclesiastical and administrative reforms were to help arouse and gather together all the economic and spiritual forces of the people, so as to enable the State to exert its strength and deploy its power to the utmost.¹ There is extant a most minute investigation made by one of the Councillors of State into the escape of money abroad caused by ecclesiastical exemptions.² By this petty standard were controlled all the measures against ecclesiastical dues, against religious houses and confraternities. The utter soullessness of this rationalistic system is brought out in the estimate formed of it by the Trinitarians: the liberation of the captives is of little profit to the State, as most of those who would be ransomed would be infirm; the same money would buy far more useful

¹ Cf., for instance, WOLFSGRUBER, 731 *seq.*, for the concluding sentence in a State protocol on the diocesan arrangement, or ARNETH, *Joseph II. und Leopold II.*, 55, for a letter of Joseph II.'s of December, 1786, on the stipends for the Bishops (HOLZKNECHT, 44, n. 1).

² HOLZKNECHT, 68. After making careful inquiries, Herzan was able to report from Rome that "the export of money to Rome for marriage dispensations amounted to very little". BRUNNER, *Theolog. Dienerschaft*, 46.

members of the State.¹ Even in the case of toleration, humanitarian motives were a secondary consideration ; the primary one was the profit that would accrue from the increase of population.

Another factor of importance was that Vienna was a fruitful ground for Jansenistic influences. Interest in Jansenistic questions had first arisen in Germany after the appearance of the Bull *Unigenitus*, and it had been stimulated by the Protestant attacks made at the time of the Reformation celebrations in 1717.² It first found expression in a body of anti-Jansenistic literature intended principally for young students.³ The best known of these works was written by Eusebius Amort, an Augustinian Canon of Polling, whose arguments were so sound that they were used in official Roman documents.⁴ At the same time a swing over to Jansenism in Germany was occasioned by the appointment of Gerhard van Swieten as physician-in-ordinary to the empress.⁵ Another channel by which this French current of thought was conducted to Austria was by way of Rome. Here the chief connoisseur of Jansenistic literature was Ambros Simon von Stock, who was influenced by the Dominican Selleri. Returning to Vienna, Stock, in conjunction with Swieten, formed a pro-Jansenist coterie, the centre of which was the prelate of the college of Augustinian Canons of St. Dorothea, Ignaz Müller, the empress's confessor.

At the very beginning of Joseph II.'s reign the movement was given definite official encouragement by the Government's attempt to suppress the Bull *Unigenitus* in Austria.⁶ This

¹ HOLZKNECHT, 75.

² WILHELM DEINHARDT, *Der Jansenismus in deutschen Landen : Münchener Studien zur hist. Theologie*, VIII. (1929), 13 seqq.

³ *Ibid.*, 47 seqq.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 57 seqq. Cf. *ibid.*, 60, n. 1, with Pius VI.'s Brief to Bishop von Spaur, of Brixen, of September 13, 1781, *ibid.*, 104 seq. For this somewhat Jansenistic Bishop, cf. *ibid.*, 87 seqq., 92.

⁵ Cf. our account, vol. XXXVI., 278 seqq.

⁶ DEINHARDT, *loc. cit.*, 98 seqq.

was caused by Jansenistic intrigues in the training college for priests at Brünn. By an imperial decree of May 4th, 1781, the Bishops were forbidden to make any use of the Bull or to allow it to be discussed.¹ This decree was relaxed to some extent by another, of May 11th, 1782, which permitted a brief factual reference to be made to the Bull in theological high schools, but no attitude was to be taken towards it.

Subsequently the doors were kept wide open for the influx of Jansenistic literature in foreign languages.² Under the protection of the censorship numerous translations appeared, for which publishers were found in Southern Germany also. The 23-volumed translation of Pierre Nicole's ascetic works appeared under the very eyes of the Prince Bishop of Bamberg, Franz Ludwig von Erthal. The opposition also had its literary output, culminating in the thoughtful work produced in his old age by Martin Gerbert, in 1791,³ though at the time of its publication its merits were not fully realized.

Similar tendencies were quite clearly apparent in the case of the priest Blarer,⁴ who laid before his pupils in the seminary at Brünn, allegedly for practice in translation, not only the Protestant Bible but also the works of Quesnel, Pascal, and Arnauld. Blarer enjoyed the protection of Kaunitz and although he was obliged by a resolution of May 4th, 1781, to make a respectful apology to his Bishop, he received an invitation at the same time to undertake the direction of the newly founded *Alumnat* in Vienna, though it must be admitted that another object of this appointment was to annoy Cardinal Migazzi.

Under Joseph II., as under Maria Theresa, the new currents of thought found their most visible expression at first in the proceedings in the university of Vienna. When he first began

¹ *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, LXXXVI. (1880), 885.

² Bellegarde, for example, found seventeen customers in Vienna and at least twenty-five in Rome for his forty-two volume edition of Arnauld's works. DEINHARDT, 107.

³ *Iansenisticarum controversiarum e doctrina s. Augustini retractatio*. Cf. *ibid.*, 132 seqq.

⁴ WOLFSGRUBER, 524 seqq.

to reign alone, the emperor wanted to carry out thoroughgoing reforms here as elsewhere, for the purpose of saving as much money as possible. His confidant in this matter was the Court Librarian, Gottfried van Swieten, Gerhard's son, who worked on the most extraordinary principles in the performance of his office. The destruction of many a valuable monastery library has been ascribed to him, he being convinced, it was said, that old editions of the fifteenth century and other such items were of very doubtful value for a university library.¹ At the end of 1781 Gottfried was appointed president of the Court Commission on Studies.

Under Maria Theresa at least the Catholic character of the universities had been preserved, but Joseph now enforced the principle that the teachers were to be chosen solely on the strength of their professional ability, without any reference to their religious life and faith, it being the sole purpose of the universities to produce, not scholars, but civil servants. Wherefore no deviation might be made from the prescribed text-books. Little respect was paid to research, and there was to be no independent seeking for the truth ; all the " schools " derived their value and their *raison d'être* from the State and its well-being.² Similarly the religious character of various functions was expunged : after June 3rd, 1782, doctors ceased to take an oath in defence of the Immaculate Conception, and after February 3rd, 1785, all the other religious customs attaching to the conferment of degrees were omitted.³

In these circumstances a sad future awaited the theological faculty, especially as all right of surveillance had been taken away from the Bishops.⁴ Several alterations were made in Rautenstrauch's syllabus : in 1785 the duration of the course was reduced from five to four years, and in 1788 to only

¹ KINK, I. I, 542, n. 724. For Gottfried van Swieten, cf. RÖSCH, in the *Archiv für kath. Kirchenrecht*, LXXXIV. (1904), 68.

² KINK, I., I, 545 n. 727, 548 *seqq.*

³ *Ibid.*, 556 *seq.* ; P. PH. WOLF, *Gesch. der Kirche unter Pius VI.*, vol. III., 170 *seqq.*

⁴ ZSCHOKKE, 57.

three. This was occasioned by the palpable scarcity of priests, the cause of which was not difficult to guess, the general intellectual tendency being what it was. The shortening of the course enabled the authorities to do without a chair of exegesis and another of dogmatics, though there was still time in the "practical year" that followed on the normal course to make the future priests acquainted with "the agriculture connected with the general history of nature".¹

As before, the real battlefields of the new spirit were church history and canon law. In the absence of a suitable Catholic text-book on the former subject, the compendium composed by the Protestant Professor Schröckh of Wittenberg² was introduced by decree of August 23rd, 1786. After carefully examining this bigoted book, Migazzi protested against it to the emperor.³ Van Swieten saw to it that the book was defended before the emperor, not indeed as a makeshift, but as being perfectly unobtrusive and completely truthful in its historical judgment.⁴ The un-Catholic sentences to which Cardinal Migazzi had objected could not mislead an intelligent youth, and they would help him to draw the right distinctions. Nevertheless a prize of 100 ducats was offered to the author of an up-to-date Catholic church-history.⁵ Four works were submitted, the winning author was Professor Dannenmayer of Vienna, and in 1788 his work was also introduced into general use.⁶

Eybel was succeeded in the chair of canon law by Joseph

¹ *Ibid.*, 62 *seqq.*

² HERZOG-HAUCK, *Realenzyklopädie für Theologie und Kirche*, XVII³, 779 *seqq.*; *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, VII², 569 *seq.*; BEIDTEL, 68.

³ WOLFSGRUBER, 506 *seqq.*; KINK, I., 2, 294 *seqq.*; ZSCHOKKE, 57 *seqq.*

⁴ KINK, *loc. cit.*, 295 *seq.*

⁵ ZSCHOKKE, 59 *seq.*, 62.

⁶ *Institutiones historiae ecclesiasticae N. T.* Cf. *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, VII², 562; WERNER, *Gesch. der Theologie*, 219, and in the *Allg. Deutsche Biogr.*, IV., 745. The Catholic text-book was introduced on August 24, 1788.

Johann Nepomuk Pehem,¹ but then the question was asked, whether the faculty had any reason for existence. In the summer of 1788 Swieten, speaking as president of the Court Commission for Studies, informed the director of the faculty of jurisprudence, Heinke, that it was incomprehensible to him what canon law was doing in a State ; it would have to go. He did in fact obtain Heinke's signature to a request for its removal which, with the emperor's approval, was presented to the commission. The negotiations, however, were protracted until May, 1790, by which time Swieten's reputation had already become so insecure that the project was never realized.

The period of the Josephian reform of Church and State, properly so called, lay between the years 1780 and 1784. One of the first fundamental plans for reform was the creation of a centralized ecclesiastical organization for all the Danubian countries. In the directives given by the emperor himself to Court Councillor Heinke, for the preparation of a considered opinion, he expressed the wish, in conformity with the monarchical character of the Church as a whole, to present the Austrian Bishops and Archbishops with a supreme spiritual head. This might take the form of a church council or synod, composed of the Primate of Bohemia and Hungary, the Archbishop of Vienna (to be created Primate of Austria), and a layman. This central Court authority would administer all ecclesiastical property and would be the highest court of jurisdiction over ecclesiastical persons. In the country a more expedient distribution of the clergy and a new diocesan arrangement was to be undertaken. In addition, there were separate proposals concerning the inner life of the Church, church services and processions, stipends, and mendicant friars.²

¹ STINTZING-LANDSBERG, III., 384 ; SCHULTE, III., I, 259 ; WERNER, *loc. cit.*, 216 *seq.* ; BEIDTEL, 72 *seqq.* All the doctrines and principles of the Josephian canon law are systematically discussed by RÖSCH, *loc. cit.*, LXXXIV. (1904), 56 *seqq.*, 244 *seqq.*, 495 *seqq.*, LXXXV. (1905), 29 *seqq.*

² WOLFSGRUBER, 467 *seqq.*

The first part of Heinke's opinion consisted, apart from an enthusiastic eulogy of the principles enunciated by the emperor, of a disparagement of the moral and intellectual reputation of the Austrian clergy, ending with the discovery that all the evil in the Church originated in the Papal infallibility. For reasons of political economy he recommended the application of the Gallican articles to the hereditary lands as well and asked that the clergy be trained so as to think on entirely different lines from the present ones. Finally he deemed it his duty to warn the emperor against Migazzi, who both as a person and as a Cardinal had the disposition of a Roman vassal and acted as the leader of the opposition for the Austrian Bishops.

All this goes to show that Heinke had lost sight of the Church's duty to guide and train the faithful and that he conceived the whole business of education as a purely political affair. Similarly, to his mind, the administration of ecclesiastical property by independent ecclesiastical authorities was an incalculable danger to the existence and safety of the State. Accordingly he was not so much in favour of the wholesale secularization of Church property (which in any case belonged to the State, in his opinion), as of the civil administration of it by means of special monastic and parochial offices in every district.¹

One may say that by the spring of 1781 the whole range of the Josephian measures had been determined, at least in their main features. A start was also made with the realization of them, one by one. Heinke considered that the most urgent task was the readjustment of the relations between the Pope and the Austrian Church. By letters patent of March 26th, 1781, the State *placet*, as already practised in the reign of Maria Theresa, was extended to all Bulls and Briefs and other ordinances of the Holy See, on the ground that any of them might touch on questions of public import. Under pain of severe penalties in cases of transgression, the clergy were to be deprived of the "delusion" that "servants

¹ *Ibid.*, 469-485; RösCH, *loc. cit.*, LXXXIV. (1904), 68 *seqq.*

of the altar were subject only to the Pope and the Roman Court, and not to the power of the sovereign.”¹ By a decree of September 1st the *placet* was to be given to Papal letters addressed to newly nominated Bishops only when they took their episcopal oath in its original form and in consonance with their duties as subjects ; further, the elected Bishop would have to take a separate oath of loyalty to the sovereign and take upon himself a special obligation towards all the sovereign’s laws and commands “without any restriction or exception ”.²

Erastian tendencies were also manifested in the attempt that was made to cut the bonds that united the religious houses in Austria with their Generals,³ though here too financial considerations played their part. Migazzi tried to thwart this scheme by means of detailed counter-representations, but with no success. An imperial patent of March 24th, 1781, decreed the abolition of all relations of dependence on foreign heads of Orders or Visitors and prohibited the export of money and the purchase of books abroad. All existing exemptions and immunities were annulled by a stroke of the pen.⁴

On April 18th Cardinal Herzan referred for the first time to the Pope’s stupefaction on being informed by the nuncio of the March decree. In a conversation with Herzan Pius had told him that he could never agree to the severance of the bonds between Rome and the Orders. Herzan had had the effrontery to defend the emperor’s action. It was still not clear, he said, what steps the Pope intended to take.⁵ It is significant that

¹ WOLFSGRUBER, 491 ; MITROFANOV, II., 678.

² WOLFSGRUBER, 492 *seqq.*

³ *Ibid.*, 625 *seqq.* ; MITROFANOV, II., 687.

⁴ *Handbuch aller . . . Verordnungen und Gesetze*, II., 199 *seqq.* ; BEIDTEL, 278 *seqq.* See WOLFSGRUBER, 634, for Migazzi’s petition to the Pope of April 4, 1781, and faculties for cases of conscience.

⁵ He intended first to writ to the emperor. Cf. Herzan’s reports of April 21 and 25, 1781, in BRUNNER, *Theol. Dienerschaft*, 63 *seq.* The “ gran sensation en Roma ” caused by these decrees was reported also by *Grimaldi to Moñino on April 19 and May 24 and 31, 1781. In his report of May 24 he spoke also of the complaints

it was on this occasion that the first indication was given of Pius VI.'s idea of going to Vienna.

But very soon there was occasion for fresh negotiations. Joseph II. wanted to control the occupation of the bishoprics and abbeys in his Milanese territory as well as in his patrimonial dominions. Herzan transmitted this desire to the Pope in an audience granted to him on July 18th and afterwards had to be told by the Pope in a polite, round-about way, that one could be an ambassador of a sovereign without sharing in all his Government's plans for reform. But the Pope's written reply to the emperor paved the way for further discussion.¹

The Pope soon had to sustain one shock after another. The ordinance regarding the episcopal oath was followed by the Court decree of September 4th, 1781, empowering the Bishops, on the authority of the sovereign, to dispense on their own account, without Papal co-operation, from all canonical impediments to marriage that were not of the divine or natural law²; for the State was much concerned that the Bishops should avail themselves of the official authority conferred upon them by God.

But what must have caused the Pope the gravest anxiety was the policy of toleration that the enlightened emperor was now beginning to put into execution. In this matter Joseph II. had no intention of starting off with a grand, sensational act of legislation. His first step was to change the mission stations in the dissident territories into proper centres of spiritual ministry.³ An instruction was also issued that in no circumstance was any official difference to be made between Catholics and Protestants.⁴ Thus, case by case, actual validity was acquired for the new principles of the toleration of the

the Pope had made to him in an audience about the decrees. Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

¹ BRUNNER, *loc. cit.*, 64 *seqq.*

² *Handbuch*, II., 294 *seq.*; a supplementary ordinance, *ibid.*, 295, of October 25.

³ *Ibid.*, 191 *seq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 421.

heterodox.¹ After further ordinances had been issued, these principles were enunciated in due form: the edict of toleration, which had already become known but had been wrongly interpreted, was now, after consultation with the Council of State, formally promulgated, for Austria on October 20th, 1781, for Hungary on October 26th, for the Netherlands on November 12th, and for Lombardy on May 30th, 1782.²

The restriction of the edict to the Lutheran, Reformed, and Greek (schismatic) Churches was by way of a concession. The Catholic Church retained its exclusive privilege of practising its religion officially, and a number of other privileges were reserved for its members. On the other hand, when it was a question of employment by the State, only integrity and ability were to be taken into account, not religion.³

Meanwhile another point in the programme of reform was under consideration: the suppression of the monasteries. Complaints made by two Carthusians of Mauerbach, near Vienna, resulted in the drafting of an imperial law⁴ for the secularization of all contemplative Orders in the hereditary lands. Firm steps were taken by the nuncio Garampi to ward off this attack on the religious life of the country. On December 12th, 1781, he addressed a note to the Chancellor, condemning the emperor's intentions in the strongest manner. He also communicated his statement to all the Bishops in Austria. In the Chancellor's reply, of December 19th, Joseph's principles were set forth in unambiguous language: the

¹ MITROFANOV, 713.

² *Ibid.*, 715. On October 9, 1781, the emperor informed the Czarina of the step he had taken, apologizing for not having done everything but claiming to have done at least the essentials. ARNETH, *Korrespondenz*, 106.

³ The edict was dated October 13 (BEIDTEL, 283 *seqq.*, and *Handbuch*, II., 422 *seqq.*) It was brought to the notice of the Ordinaries by a decree (*ibid.*, 434) in which occurs the phrase "the one true religion in which alone is salvation". The emperor insisted on this in spite of Kaunitz's remonstrances. BRUNNER, *Humor*, II., 192 *seq.*

⁴ WOLFSBRUGER, 636 *seq.*; HOCK, *Staatsrat*, 394 *seqq.*

Christian religion was only to be measured by the needs of the sovereign power, so that the Pope was entitled only to the guardianship of the "principles of the faith", the State, however, to "everything about the Church that was not of divine but of human invention and institution". To the latter, among other things, belonged the external discipline of the clergy and the Orders.¹ With this the exchange of notes on this question ceased for the moment; the opposition between the two viewpoints had been expressed with the utmost clearness.

In the meantime the Pope's project of making a personal visit to Vienna took more definite shape. Kaunitz was firmly set against it, whereas the emperor, when the Papal intention was brought to his notice, was clearly embarrassed, as was to be seen from the artificial frigidity and the studied deference in externals which he now exhibited. So Kaunitz, reluctant though he was, had to draft a reply to the Papal notice, offering to accommodate the Pope in the Imperial Hofburg. The messages Joseph wrote to the Czarina² and to his brother Leopold, informing them of the projected visit, were very terse. From the latter he learnt how divergent were the views taken by the Romans on the proposed journey.³ The emperor in any case had time enough to prepare for the extraordinary event⁴ and was resolved to appear, in a respectful but restrained manner, as a reverential son of the Church, a courteous

¹ The document was immediately printed and published. Our quotation from it is taken from the *Reflexionen über die Note, welche von des . . . Fürsten von Kaunitz-Rietberg Durchlaucht dem päpstl. Herrn Nuntius Garampi auf dessen Billet vom 12. Dezember 1781 . . . den 19. des nämlichen Monats und Jahres zugestellt worden ist. Von dem Verfasser der Grundsätze zur Feststellung und Aufrechterhaltung der politischen und kirchlichen Macht in katholischen Staaten. Ein Handbuch für Priester und Staatsmänner. 1787.* For the exchange of notes, see also RANKE, *Die deutschen Mächte*, 52 seqq.

² ARNETH, *Joseph II. und Katharina*, 121, 123.

³ ARNETH, *Joseph II. und Leopold*, 70, 75, 79 seqq.

⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, 81, 82, 84.

host, and a good Catholic, but also as a monarch who was unshakable in his principles and wholly intent on furthering the interests of the State.

That Joseph II. was in no way willing to be distracted from his measures of reform by the forthcoming visit of the Pope is shown by the fact that he went on with his ecclesiastical legislation in the days that preceded the arrival of Pius VI. and in those that immediately followed it. The most important business of the winter of 1781 was the taking of the preliminary steps that led to the actual suppression of the monasteries.¹

Just as almost all the other rights of the Church had to pass to the State, the censorship too, which had already undergone considerable changes under Maria Theresa,² was managed for the benefit of the State and was centralized in the capital.³ Thus a Court decree declared that the index of forbidden books published by the Bohemian Bishops was effective only in so far as it contained items which had also been condemned by the State censorship.⁴ Naturally special attention was paid to ecclesiastical publications, in particular the pastoral letters, which from time to time the emperor caused to be submitted for his personal examination.⁵ In various petitions he presented to the emperor Cardinal Migazzi pointed out that it was the duty of the Bishops to inspect the religious writings in their dioceses, and he succeeded in obtaining a resolution whereby the two ecclesiastical members of the college of censors must be ready at any time to explain their actions to the Ordinaries.⁶ The chief object of this was to keep off Jansenistic influences; but by a decree of May 4th, 1781, all

¹ Cf. above, p. 443.

² Cf. our account, vol. XXXVI., 284 seqq.

³ This new regulation of the censorship of June 11, 1781, in *Handbuch*, I., 517 seqq. Cf. GNAU, *Die Zensur unter Joseph II.*, Strassburg, 1911.

⁴ *Handbuch*, I., 545.

⁵ One example in BRUNNER, *Theolog. Dienerschaft*, 420. Cf. also *Handbuch*, II., 545 seq., 549 seq., 532.

⁶ WOLFSGRUBER, 573-6.

Ordinaries were forbidden to try to force the Bull *Unigenitus* upon the clergy or people in any way, under pain of the imperial displeasure.¹ Both Archbishop Frankenberg of Malines and Migazzi made representations on the subject to the emperor, but they could do nothing with Kaunitz and the State Council against them. The emperor persisted in regarding the Bull as non-existent, though he allowed works written abroad for or against the Bull to be brought into the hereditary States.²

The Josephian measures could not have been carried out so quickly and to such an extent had it not been for the many members of the Austrian episcopacy who viewed "enlightenment" with favour.³ The so-called "Toleration Pastorals", such as those of Colloredo, the Archbishop of Salzburg, and Johann Leopold von Hay, Bishop of Königgratz,⁴ attracted particular attention. But when the Archbishop of Gorizia, Count Rudolf Joseph von Edling, failed to bring some imperial ordinances to the notice of the people and the clergy, an order went out to the district militia to bring the courageous prelate to book. Shortly before Pius VI. entered the diocese of Gorizia,

¹ *Ibid.*, 588.

² *Ibid.*, 584-591.

³ Cf. TóTH, *Zwei Berichte des Wiener Nuntius Garampi über die kirchlichen Verhältnisse in Österreich um 1776*, in the *Rom. Quartalschrift*, XXXIV. (1926), 330 seqq.

⁴ A German translation, *Zirkularschreiben des Herrn v. Hay, Bischofs zu Königgrätz, an die Geistlichkeit seiner Diözes über die Toleranz, vom 20. November 1781, aus dem Lateinischen ins Deutsche übersetzt*, Vienna, 1782, is most easily accessible in SCHLÖZER, *Staatsanzeigen*, 1782, 157-167. Cf. *Archiv für kath. Kirchenrecht*, LXXXV. (1905), 47, and W. MÜLLER, *Johann Leopold v. Hay. Ein biographischer Beitrag zur Gesch. der Josephinischen Kirchenpolitik*, Vienna, 1893. As a refutation of Hay's arguments, the *Katholischen Betrachtungen über das Cirkularschreiben des Herrn von Hay, Bischofes zu Königgrätz an die Geistlichkeit seiner Diözes über die Toleranz*, Augsburg, 1782², could hardly be bettered. A character sketch of the Bishop by Princess Eleanore of Liechtenstein in A. WOLF, *Eleonore von Liechtenstein*, 217.

the Archbishop had to go to Vienna. There, just before the arrival of the Pope, he was called into the presence of the emperor and was requested to carry out the necessary publication, failing which he would have to leave immediately, but not for his diocese. The prelate signed and was dismissed to his diocese for the time being ¹; after the Pope's departure his case came up again.

(2)

Pius VI. had written to the emperor on December 15th, 1781,² expressing the desire to discuss with him by word of mouth the differences of opinion that existed between them. Besides Garampi's unsuccessful attempts at mediation with regard to the inroads of the imperial legislation on ecclesiastical territory,³ it was principally Joseph II.'s claim to the right of presenting the Milanese benefices that drove the Pope to make a final attempt to reach a mutual understanding.⁴ The negotiations on this latter question had been going on for six months and seemed to be on the point of breaking down entirely. Had this happened an open breach between the Pope and Emperor would have been inevitable. When Vienna had made out that it could justify its present demands by the transfer of the right of nomination in the Milanese to the House of Sforza by Nicholas IV., Pius VI. had replied in a letter of August 20th that that Pope had never made any such concession but had only granted a personal right of proposal to one of the princes of the House of Sforza during

¹ According to the imperial resolutions in BRUNNER, *Theolog. Dienerschaft*, 415 seqq.

² *Lettres de notre St. Père le Pape et de Sa Majesté l'Empereur*, Rome, 1782, Pt. I, 2 seqq. This and other letters are also to be found in *Lettere missive e responsive di S.S^{ta} Pio VI. f.r.e. di S.M^{ta} I. e R. A. Giuseppe II. Imp. dei Romani*, Venezia, 1782.

³ *Memorandum to the nuncio in Spain, supplement to the "Breve al nunzio" of February 14, 1782, Nunziat. di Spagna, 437, Papal Secret Archives. Cf. Bernis to Vergennes, January 30, 1782, *Correspond. des Directeurs*, XIV., 176.

⁴ *Memorandum, *loc. cit.*

his lifetime.¹ This explanation had no effect in Vienna, where the old aspirations were adhered to as obstinately as before² and were even expressed in the written reply of January 11th, 1782,³ in which the emperor assured the Pope of his pleasure at the proposed visit. A few weeks later Joseph II. informed his exalted guest that all preparations would be made in the best possible manner and he offered him as a lodging the rooms in the Hofburg that had been occupied by his mother, Maria Theresa.⁴

In the Sacred College, opinions on the intentions of the Braschi Pope were divided. More than one member was against the pontiff embarking on what was, to say the least, a questionable enterprise; Bernis especially, not in his capacity of ambassador but in that of Cardinal, made the most earnest representations to the head of the Church.⁵ Nevertheless, Pius VI. persisted in his project, which he had been contemplating for a long time past and which now, after the last measures taken by the Viennese Government, had

¹ Thus Garampi *reported to Rome on April 5, 1781, with reference to the decree on the religious houses: "La circostanza in cui mi trovo è bene afflitiva." Nunziat. di Germania, 398, Papal Secret Archives.

² Cf. *Pallavicini to the nuncio in Madrid, on December 27, 1781: "Erronei principi di Cesare sono esse sì gravi, e di sì estesa conseguenza, che alle molteplici rispettose rimostranze praticatene in Vienna, giusta le Pontificie Istruzioni, da quel Mgr. Nunzio, non ha pio saputo Sua Beat^e non apportare il possibile rinforzo delle rimostranze proprie, et immediate, che vorrebbe pur potergli spiegare distintamente con la viva sua voce. Benedica il Signore il paterno officio del suo vicario, dandogli quella fecondità, che può unicame^e derivare da' di Lui divini influssi, di quali, quando Egli non vuole, l'uomo non vale a resistere." Nunziat. di Spagna, 436, *ibid.*

³ *Lettres, loc cit.*, 12 *seqq.*

⁴ Letter of February 16, 1782, *ibid.*, 18 *seqq.* The message reached the Pope when he was already on the way (see below, p. 451). Cf. Garampi's *report to Rome of February 28, 1782, Nunziat. di Germania, 398, fo. 284, *loc. cit.*

⁵ Bernis to Vergennes, February 6, 1782, *loc. cit.*, 179. Cf. MASSON, 396 *seq.*

become a fixed resolve.¹ In Rome it was still hoped that he would refrain of his own accord, or be prevented, from making the journey.²

In the consistory of February 25th, 1782, the Holy Father officially informed the Cardinals of his imminent visit to Germany³ and made the arrangements that his absence necessitated. He gave instructions, in the event of anything untoward happening to him, that the next conclave was nevertheless to be held in Rome.⁴ For the expenses of the journey 80,000 thalers were taken from the Papal chest.⁵ The departure was to take place only two days later, on February 27th.

After celebrating in his private chapel in the early morning of the 27th,⁶ the Holy Father attended another Mass in St. Peter's. Here he greeted, among others, the Russian

¹ Bernis to Vergennes, February 13, 1782, *loc. cit.*, 184: "Un certain enthousiasme, le goût des choses extraordinaires, un zèle mal entendu, un peu trop d'amour-propre et de présomption, de faux conseils donnés, pour la plupart, à mauvaise intention, et l'ignorance la plus crasse du monde et des cours, ont prévalu sur le bon sens, sur l'amitié et sur les vrais intérêts de la papauté, du St-Siège et de l'Église. Dieu n'est pas obligé de réparer par des miracles les imprudences de ses vicaires!"

² *Ibid.*, 185.

³ *Lettres*, *loc. cit.*, Pt. 3, pp. 2 *seqq.*; *Acta a sanctissimo patre et domino nostro Pio divina providentia papa Sexto causa itineris sui Vindobonensis*, Romae, 1782, 3 *seqq.* (1 *seqq.* in the quarto ed.); *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 919 *seq.*

⁴ Report of the Lucchese agent Domenico Paolo of February 23, 1782, published by Sforza in the *Giornale Ligust.*, XV. (1888), 488 *seq.*; GENDRY, I., 242; WOLFSGRUBER, 670.

⁵ [BOURGOING], *Pius VI.*, 206.

⁶ The complete itinerary was published by Giuseppe Dini, the Prefect of Ceremonies, who accompanied the Pope, under the title: *Diario pieno e distinto del viaggio fatto a Vienna dal sommo pontefice Pio Papa Sesto*, Roma, 1782, with engravings by Bombelli. Cf. *Vol. 50 (II^o. App. al tomo X.) in the Papal Ceremonial Archives in Rome; EHRLE in the *Archiv für Literaturgesch. des Mittelalters*, V. (1899), 595. Cf. *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 931 *seqq.*

Grand Duke, who gave him a magnificent fur coat to keep off the cold during his arduous journey.¹ The interest of the populace was shown by the dense throngs that lined the streets, some praying, others merely curious; some even accompanied him for miles outside the city. In many of the churches prayers were said before the Blessed Sacrament exposed, and priests had to insert in the Office of the day a special Collect for the successful issue of the enterprise.² The Pope travelled in the simplest possible style, not even taking a Cardinal to attend him, though he had once invited Bernis to accept that honour.³ Otricoli, Foligno,⁴ Tolentino, and Sinigaglia were the daily stages on the road to Cesena,⁵ the

A. F. BAUER, *Ausführliche Geschichte der Reise des Papstes Pius VI. (Braschi) von Rom nach Wien und der Rückreise von Wien nach Rom*, 2 parts, Vienna, 1782; CORDARA, *De profectione Pii VI. ad Aulam Viennensem eiusque causis atque exitu commentarii*, Romae, 1855. An anonymous Venetian diary and other relevant accounts and records from the Venetian archives were used and published by L. COGGIOLA PITONI in his article "Il Viaggio di Pio VI. negli stati Veneti e nella Dominante", in the *Nuovo Arch. Veneto*, XXIX. (1915), 167 *seqq.*, with contemporary pictures (some by Francesco Guardi). Three sonnets from the parochial archives of Porto Maurizio were published by MANACORDA in the *Arch. stor. ital.*, 5th series, XXIV. (1899), 76 *seq.* For the whole journey see also *Katholische Bewegung*, I. (1868), 49 *seqq.*

¹ [BOURGOING], *loc. cit.*, 205.

² "Pro pontifice itinerante" (DINI, *Diario*, 1).

³ Bernis to Vergennes, January 30, 1782, *loc. cit.*, XIV., 176.

⁴ "Orationes recitandae pro felici itinere sanctissimi domini nostri Pii Papae Sexti," Foligno, 1782. Over the entrance to the present seminary (formerly the Convento di S. Agostino), where the Pope spent the night, is a memorial tablet, ending with the wish "Ne tanti beneficii memoria unquam deleteretur | hoc monumento aeternam esse iussit (Augustinianus ordo)". Details of the Pope's visit in the *Gazetta universale di Foligno*, No. 24, of June 14, 1782, p. 196, and in the *Giornale di Foligno*, No. 10, of February 3, 1888 ("Dalle memorie di Giacomo Tani").

⁵ For the stop at Rimini, v. CALLEGARI, *Storia d'Italia*, 626; cf. 646.

Pope's birthplace, where he was given a most enthusiastic welcome and allowed himself a few days' rest, most of which was spent in visiting his numerous relatives.

On March 7th the journey was continued as far as Imola ; thence by way of Bologna, where the senate of the town and the Duke of Parma gave magnificent receptions for the Pope, to Ferrara. Here, on March 10th, the Pope received a message from the emperor ¹ that all preparations had been made for his entry and stay in the capital of the empire. Beyond Bologna the route led through the territory of the Venetian Republic, which, as if to make up for former injustices, went out of its way to show the pontiff particular friendship and civility. Thus special bridges were built for the Papal party, not only over some smaller rivers but even over the Piave itself.²

Between Udine and Gorizia the party entered Austrian territory, where it was welcomed by the nuncio Garampi and the Vice-Chancellor, Count Kobenzl.³ The way went on past Gorizia, Marburg, and Graz, where the Pope was received by the Bishop of Seckau in the Minorite church of Mariahilf, to Wiener-Neustadt. Emperor Joseph II., who was suffering from a serious inflammation of the eyes, had come as far as this point to meet the Pope, in spite of his physician's advice. While the military academy of Wiener-Neustadt was making ready to welcome the honoured guest, the two heads of Christendom met outside the town, at Neunkirchen.⁴ The Pope took his seat in the imperial state carriage, on Joseph's right, and the capital was reached on the evening of this day,

¹ Cf. above, p. 448 ; GENDRY, I., 247 seq. ; report of the Lucchese agent of March 16, 1782, SFORZA, *loc. cit.*, 440 seq.

² Antici's *report to Elector Karl Theodor of April 20, 1782, State Archives, Munich, Kasten schwarz 506/1 ; BAUER, *loc. cit.*, I., 23. Cf. in particular COGGIOLA PITONI, *loc. cit.*, 174 seqq. Further bibliographical references, *ibid.*, 168, n. 2. On Treviso : A. MARCHESAN, *Il celebre passaggio per Treviso del p. Pio VI. 12 Marzo 1782*, Treviso, 1914.

³ DINI, *Diario*, 17 ; BAUER, I., 23 seq.

⁴ Cf., besides Dini and Bauer, GENDRY, I., 254 seq.

February 22nd. The streets through which the procession passed were lined uninterruptedly by the military and dense masses of the people. At the Residenz the whole Court was assembled in readiness to receive His Holiness. His long and fatiguing journey ended with a solemn *Te Deum* in the Court Chapel. The emperor himself superintended, with the greatest attention, the arrangements made for the comfort of the Pope and his attendants, who were lodged in a newly decorated suite of apartments in the Hofburg.¹

What the person of the Holy Father meant to the faithful people of Italy and Austria, even in that mundane age, was shown by the endless acclamation which accompanied him, as if in a triumphal procession, as he passed through their countries.² Probably never before had so many people streamed into Vienna from every province as they did in these days and weeks, and several times a day the Holy Father had to show himself to the crowds which were begging for his blessing.³ High dignitaries, both spiritual and lay, from the Danubian monarchy and the rest of the empire came to pay their respects to the leader of Christendom. But with all the extraordinary friendliness shown towards this rare guest, even by Government circles and the imperial family, there was much else besides, of a less delightful character, which inevitably cast a doubt on the absolute sincerity of these demonstrations of respect.

It was principally the appearance of some publicistic writings that raised suspicion, especially as even official circles had had a hand in them. Moreover, Joseph II. had at least tolerated them. Apart from the many aberrations in prose and verse perpetrated by the Viennese school of enlightening literature, such as the productions of the frivolous freemason

¹ Garampi's *report to Rome of March 25, 1782, *Nunziat. di Germania*, 398, *loc. cit.*

² "Il pellegrino apostolico. Poemetto di due canti composto dall' Abbate Vincenzo Monti Ferrarese," Siena, 1783.

³ The Pope had to appear on the balcony seven or eight times, *reported Garampi to Rome on April 8, 1782, *loc. cit.* Cf. *ibid.*, *report of April 15, 1782.

Blumauer or the more careful Sonnenfels,¹ a brochure that was widely read is worthy of note on account of its author. Eybel, the occupier of the chair of canon law in the university of Vienna, took advantage of the Pope's presence to clear away, as he thought, a mass of pious prejudices with an opusculé entitled *Was ist der Papst?*² According to him—and this, of course, was entirely a Febronian idea—the successor of St. Peter was no more than any other Bishop, and he simply refused to grant him any further rights, in either the ecclesiastical or the secular sphere. Spurious or mutilated passages from the Fathers were evidence enough for him to demonstrate the truth of this highly questionable proposition. The nuncio to Vienna's complaint about the pamphlet to the emperor, who had not read it, was dismissed with a reference to the Austrian laws of censorship.³ Rome, however, afterwards singled out

¹ Cf. especially BRUNNER, *Mysterien*, 208–224, with detailed information about the relevant pamphlets. Reprints, especially of Blumauer's poems, in BAUER, I., 92 seqq. The name of the author cited by Brunner (*loc. cit.*, 221, n. 1) is "Wende", not "Wrede". Another work by Sonnenfels worth noticing, besides that mentioned *ibid.*, 217, n. 2, is *Die Reise des Papstes zum Kaiser. Nebst einer kurzen Erzählung von der Veranlassung dazu und unparteyischen Anmerkungen von derselben*, Vienna, 1782. At the end of the work Sonnenfels again calls himself only the editor (p. 157). Besides the work mentioned by BRUNNER (p. 212, n. 1) Rautenstrauch is also responsible for *Warum kommt Pius VI. nach Wien?*, Vienna, 1782. Brunner's information may be supplemented as follows: A. F. BÜSCHING, *Wie verhielten sich von jeher die Päpste gegen die Kaiser und österreichischen Landesregenten?* (with appendix on the Papal Mass celebrated in Vienna on Easter Sunday), 1782; NEUBERGER, *Ankunft und Aufenthalt Pius' des VI. in Wien. Ein Beitrag für künftige Geschichtschreiber*, Vienna, no date; F. I. FÜCKER, *Was Pius VI. in Wien gemacht hat? Anfrage aus der Provinz*, Vienna, 1782; *Die Heimreise des Papstes Pius VI. von Wien nach Rom nach einigen Anmerkungen und Beobachtungen* (especially for the stay in Vienna; on pp. 65 seqq. the author sneers at the Easter Mass).

² GENDRY, I., 252.

³ SCHLITTER, *Reise Pius' VI.*, 20 seq.; BRUNNER, *Humor*, II.,

this publication from among all the other lampoons and condemned it in a Brief of November 26th, 1786.¹ What should have shamed the Catholics of this time was that a Protestant historian from Switzerland, Johannes von Müller, should have written (anonymously) a work, *Reisen der Päpste* (" Journeys of the Popes "),² which gave the impetus for a new historical appreciation of the Papacy which gradually made headway.

Pius VI. had borne the fatigue of his long journey so well ³ that he was able to open his confidential discussions with the emperor on the very first day after his arrival in Vienna.⁴ Day after day, for hours on end, the two rulers sat discussing their common difficulties. Despite their private character the conferences had been prepared for in detail by the Government and even the progress made with the various points for discussion was controlled by the indirect participation in the

205 *seqq.* Naturally there were a number of counterblasts, e.g. " Der Papst und seine Rechte ", Vienna, 1782 ; " Das ist der Papst," Augsburg, 1782. One such pamphlet was subsidized by Garampi. Cf. GENDRY, I., 510. Further oppositional literature in REUSCH, 949 *seq.*

¹ *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 2, 1746 ; REUSCH, 940, 949. Cf. also " Confutazione di due libelli diretti contro il breve ' Super soliditate '. L'uno intitolato : La voce della verità ecc. L'altro : Riflessioni sopra il Breve del Sommo Pontefice Pio Sesto, in cui si condanna il libro di Eybel : Che cosa è il Papa ? " No place of publication, 1789.

² No place of publication, 1782. It was a partisan work written for the Elector of Mainz against Joseph II. (GUGLIA, *Ranke*, 223), and includes in the appendix an attack on Eybel : " Fragment eines Briefes über die Frage : Was ist der Papst ? " It recalls the journeys taken by the Popes of the middle ages in defence of freedom against the despotism of the State. Cf. for similar opinions on Pius VI. and Joseph II. given by Johannes von Müller, the *Briefe an Bonstetten*, II. (1812), 240, 263, 271 *seq.* Cf. WOLFSGRUBER, 677.

³ Garampi's *reports to Rome of March 25 and April 1, 1782, *Nunziat. di Germania*, 398, *loc. cit.*

⁴ BAUER, I., 29.

talks of Prince Kaunitz and Count Kobenzl in particular. Kaunitz had provided the emperor with a memorandum of all the view-points with which to counter the anticipated complaints of the Pope.¹ The emperor in his turn kept the two chancellors continuously informed of the course of the negotiations and received further directions from them. Kobenzl especially exerted a powerful influence on the emperor.

The discussions covered the Josephian legislation on the episcopal oath and the dispensation from monastic vows and impediments to marriage. On Kobenzl's advice the emperor asked the Pope to put all his objections in writing. In drawing up this document² Pius took the opportunity of referring to all the relevant aspects of the emperor's ecclesiastical legislation, such as the laws regarding toleration and the censorship, the suppression of the Bull *Unigenitus*, the introduction of general seminaries managed by the state, and of the royal *placet* (even for dogmatic Bulls), the marriage laws, and the reform of the monasteries. In his note in reply, written under Kaunitz's influence, the emperor tried to justify all these measures, but subsequently they got no further than explaining to each other the points on which they differed.³

¹ GENDRY, I., 257 *seqq.* For the unseemly behaviour of the Chancellor when the Pope visited him in his residence, *cf.* KAPFER in the *Monatsschrift des Hist. Vereins von Oberbayern*, VI. (1897), 96 *seqq.*, and the bibliographical references given there. *Cf.* also [BOURGOING], 225 *seq.*

² Of April 10, 1782. *Cf. ibid.*, 265 *seqq.*

³ *Ibid.*, 267 *seq.* *Cf.* Joseph II. to Leopold on April 22, 1782 (ARNETH, *Joseph II. und Leopold*, I., 194), and *Pallavicini to the nuncio to Spain on May 30, 1782, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 437, *loc. cit.*: "Le apparenze che lo precedettero, lo facevano presso che generalmente riputar frustraneo affatto, attesa la omnimoda inflessibilità da Cesare dimostrata in più modi, e dichiarata al Papa stesso nella consaputa sua replica. Ci fa ad ogni modo sapere la Santità Sua di averne pur conseguito qualche cosa, la riforma, cioè, del Giuramento da Sua Maestà Cesare prescritto qualche mese addietro a quelli, che avessero dovuto successivamente occupare le chiese vescovili di nomina sua; la menzione, e

In between these quiet and grave conversations the Pope had many other functions to perform. His first drive in public on March 25th, the feast of the Annunciation, was to the church of the Capuchins, where he celebrated Mass and prayed at Maria Theresa's sarcophagus in the imperial mausoleum.¹ In the days that followed Pius VI. visited the chief "lions" of Vienna and several institutions, such as the orphanage on

spiegazione della Bolla *Unigenitus* nelle Università de' Dominj Austriaci e ciò in oppugnazione della Dottrina proscritta nella Bolla medesima, benchè la Maestà Sua abbia seguitato a riguardarla come provvida. La preterizione che se ne faccia ne' Circoli di pubblica Disputa : e la esenzione delle Bolle Dommatiche dal pubblicato assoggettamento delle medesime al Regio Placet. Più esatta idea formeremo in appresso di qualche altra parziale, ma per questo apparisce assai scarsa deferenza di Cesare ad altri sostanzialissimi Pontifici riclami, ed ammonizioni, siccome più positiva la formeremo altresì della misura della Pontificia condiscendenza rispetto alle Dispense Matrimoniali. Rispetto a queste però sappiamo da ora, e ben nettamente, che in niun caso mai potranno esser date da' Vescovi, che in virtù di una Apostolica Delegazione da dichiararsi espressamente da Loro in ciaschedun caso. Intanto Sua B^{ne} si va avvicinando alla Capitale che sospira di ripossederlo per rendergli, come deve, omaggio del quale è debitrice al proprio amoroso Sovrano e Zelante Pontefice. Numerosi sono senza meno gli esempi, che se ne han forniti tutte le Classi degli Abitanti sia de' Dominj Austriaci sia di altri Principati ne' quali le singolari virtù Pontificie hanno fatto non senza molto profitto della religione l'impressione più vantaggiosa. Faccia il Signore che come si è in qualche momento cominciata a dissipare la nebbia, che di parecchi oggetti fece già formare a Cesare un erroneo giudizio, la dissipazione se ne estenda a tutti e nel grado bisognevole. Questa all' occhio mio non apparisce ancor tale, da farmene tuttavia sperare il frutto, che occorrerebbe nell' animo della Regina di Napoli. Non è Ella il primo a supporlo imbevuto delle massime lontane ed a reputarla prevalente in quello del proprio consorte. Dio conservi Carlo III e infonda generalmente in tutti i Sovrani quello spirito di Religiosità, e di attaccamento alla S. Sede, onde per se stesso Egli è un splendido Modello."

¹ DINI, *Diario*, 20 seq. Inscription in GENDRY, I., 510 seq.

the Rennweg, the Ritterakademie, and the Court Library. On April 4th he had to sit for his portrait by the Viennese painter Hickel, whom he richly rewarded for his successful work.¹

All the ceremonies of Holy Week were attended without exception by the Pope.² On Maundy Thursday he was present at the pontifical High Mass celebrated by the nuncio in the Court Church and himself bore the Blessed Sacrament to the altar of repose. Returning to the Hofburg he took part with the emperor in the Viennese custom of washing the feet of twelve old men, whom he afterwards served at table with his own hands and dismissed with presents. On Good Friday he paid visits on foot to the Holy Sepulchres in several of the churches in the city, and on Holy Saturday he announced an eight-day jubilee indulgence for Vienna.

The culminating point of the ecclesiastical functions was reached on Easter Sunday, when the liturgical ceremonies were performed by the Pope in St. Stephen's amid the greatest pontifical splendour. The cathedral had been gorgeously decorated at the imperial command, and no ceremony had ever been more impressive.³ Besides a large number of high-ranking clerics there were present three Cardinals and dignitaries of the Greek rite. In the presence of the most illustrious members of the Austrian Court and nobility the miracle of Easter was announced by the Vicar of Christ in a clear Latin address.⁴ After the service the Pope, ascending to a huge balcony of the Court Church, gave the apostolic blessing to the

¹ BAUER, I., 53 *seq.*; COGGIOLA PITONI, *loc. cit.*, 181. The ridiculous story of the Pope's shoe being taken round the salons to be kissed is, of course, retailed by [BOURGOING], 222 *seq.*

² For what follows, *v.* DINI, 21-5; BAUER, I., 31-52; WOLFSGRUBER, 671 *seqq.*; GENDRY, I., 268 *seqq.*

³ The event was afterwards commemorated by a black marble tablet and a bust. The inscription proposed by Migazzi was rejected and one by Kaunitz, far shorter and more soberly phrased, was adopted in its stead. WOLFSGRUBER, 678 *seq.*

⁴ Text in *Lettres*, *loc. cit.*, Pt. 3, pp. 6 *seqq.*; *Acta*, *loc. cit.*, 5 *seqq.*; *Bull. Cont.*, VI., I, 920 *seq.*

tens of thousands assembled in the square below, while a roll of thunder came from the cannon on the ramparts encircling the city. A week later, on Low Sunday, such immense crowds flocked into the city again that very many were unable to find accommodation for the night.

During Easter Week the emperor had been sorely incommoded by his eye-trouble, so that the discussions, among other engagements, had to be abandoned.¹ Meanwhile the Pope had to think about his early departure. But before this took place he fulfilled a function which was very much desired by the emperor, who was by now recovered. The Pope himself was to confer the red hat, which they had not yet received, on two high ecclesiastical princes of the empire, Cardinal Firmian of Passau and the Hungarian Primate, Batthyány of Gran. Accordingly Pius called a public consistory for April 19th² in the gorgeous Hall of the Knights in the imperial Hofburg. Cardinals Herzan and Migazzi were present, and with due solemnity the Pope himself conferred on the two prelates the birettas he had brought with him from Rome and named their titular churches. He then made a speech in Latin, in which he praised the hospitality of the emperor and the piety of the Austrian people.³

The Pope's departure from Vienna took place at last on the morning of April 22nd. The emperor and his Court escorted him to Mariabrunn, where the two leaders of the Christian West joined again in silent prayer before the image of the Virgin. They then took cordial leave of each other. Count Kobenzl remained with the Pope until Austrian territory had been quitted.⁴

¹ GENDRY, I., 272.

² Cf. DINI, 26 *seq.*; BAUER, I., 64 *seqq.*; WOLFSGRUBER, 673; GENDRY, I., 275.

³ *Lettres, loc. cit.*, Pt. 3, pp. 20 *seqq.*; *Acta*, 12 *seq.*; *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 922. At the emperor's orders this speech, which seemed to free him from all suspicion of irreligion, was printed at the public expense and distributed all over the country, free of charge. WOLFSGRUBER, 674.

⁴ DINI, 27 *seqq.*; BAUER, I., 74 *seqq.*, also for what follows.

Although the Pope's itinerary had not originally included a visit to Munich, he allowed himself to be won over by the Elector Karl Theodor's pressing invitation. He travelled, therefore, past St. Pölten, where he honoured the collegiate church of the "Englische Fräulein" with a brief visit,¹ to the Benedictine abbey of Melk, on the Danube. The next day he proceeded to St. Florian, near Linz,² and on the next to Ried. Here he received from emissaries of Klemens Wenzeslaus, Elector of Trier and Bishop of Augsburg, a most earnest request to honour his lordship with his presence in the episcopal city of Augsburg. On the bridge over the Inn, near Braunau, where Austrian territory came to an end, the Pope parted with Count Kobenzl and gave him a letter of thanks to the emperor.³ From here onwards he was escorted by a deputation from the Electorate of Bavaria.

The next stage of the journey was the time-honoured pilgrimage resort of Altötting, where the Pope was welcomed by Archbishop Colloredo of Salzburg and Count Palatine Wilhelm von Birkenfeld. From here to Munich the Pope's progress, in spite of the streaming rain, was a unique and imposing procession of praying people. At Ramsau, near Haag, he was met by the Elector himself, and was welcomed in the church of Our Lady of Loreto by the Bishop of Freising.⁴

Inscription at Mariabrunn in GENDRY, I., 511; GUGLIA, *Wien*, 345. The nuncio Garampi accompanied the Pope from Vienna as far as Bologna. Cf. his *travel diary No. 126B, Fondo Garampi, Papal Secret Archives.

¹ In the choir here is the inscription: "Christi | in terris vicarius | Braschi Pius sextus | Deo | Hic genua flexit | oculus benedixit | in larga pietate boni pastoris | laetantes | die 22 aprilis."

² The "Papstzimmer" here recalls his stay on April 23-24. In 1847 his portrait was hung opposite the entrance. Cf. *Linzer Theol. Quartalschrift*, 1882, 327 seq.; *Katholik*, 1869, II., 228 seqq.

³ GENDRY, I., 278 seq. In this letter he asked for a relaxation of the measures taken against the Bull *Unigenitus*, and this wish was granted. Cf. p. 436.

⁴ SCHLITTER, *Pius VI. und Joseph II.*, 8; *Papst Pius VI. in*

Karl Theodor was ambitious enough to receive the supreme Pastor of the Church in his capital on the Isar with the same marks of honour and demonstrations of friendship as the Emperor Joseph had done in Vienna. As, therefore, towards sunset, the Pope made his entrance into the gaily decorated city, bands played, peals of bells were rung, and guns were fired in salute.¹

Pius VI.'s stay in Munich, where he was lodged in the palace of the Bavarian Elector, lasted five days.² The people had flocked into the capital from all the surrounding country, and twice a day, at fixed hours, the Pope had to give them his blessing from the balcony of the palace. The celebrations on the Sunday were particularly impressive. Owing to the very heavy rain the Papal Mass which had been arranged for the cathedral had to be said in the church of the Theatines, where the Pope visited the family vault of the Wittelsbachs. This was followed by a huge procession to the Marienplatz, where

München, Munich, 1782, 3 seqq.; KAPFER, *loc. cit.*, 107 seqq.; DINI, 29 seqq.; BAUER, II., 10 seqq.

¹ *Papst Pius VI. in München*, 13 seqq. The reports of the Austrian envoy Lehrbach, who had special instructions to keep the Pope under observation, are in BRUNNER, *Theolog. Dienerschaft*, 450-461. Cf. the *reports of the Minister of State Von Vieregg to the Roman agent Antici, of April 20, 27, and 30, 1782, State Archives, Munich, Kasten schwarz 506/1.

² *Papst Pius VI. in München*, 21 seqq. In GENDRY, I., 512, the commemorative inscription in the cathedral in Munich. The speeches delivered in the presence of the city council were printed in Munich in 1782 under the title "Anrede an Pius VI., gehalten zu München am 30. April 1784 von Anton v. Barth und Sr. Päpstl. Heiligkeit Antwort". Among the pamphlets may be mentioned "Das hoffende München. Eine Ode" [Munich, 1782]. Westenrieder's sketches in diary form of the Pope's visit were published by Kluckhohn in the proceedings of the Munich Academy, "Hist. Klasse," XVI., 2 (1882), 16 seq. [Sunday the "29th" is a misprint for the "28th" in the manuscript]. Cf. also *Kath. Bewegung*, I. (1868), 60 seq., and supplement to the *Bayr. Kurier* (Munich) for July 20, 1929.

a lofty platform had been set up in front of the Government building. Here too the Holy Father gave his blessing to the people. He subsequently attended a festival of the Electoral Order of the Knights of St. George¹ and on May 2nd he left Bavarian territory by way of Nymphenburg and Schwabhausen, being accompanied as far as the latter place by Karl Theodor himself.²

The Pope's reception in the imperial and episcopal city of Augsburg³ was all the more remarkable inasmuch as only a portion of the citizens and council⁴ were Catholic, and memories of the Confession of 1530 were encountered at every step. Nevertheless there was general rejoicing at his presence, and even a Protestant official, Mertens, who was Rector of the Protestant college and city librarian, welcomed him in an address in Latin that was full of submissiveness and praise, so much so in fact that it was strongly objected to by his co-religionists.⁵ May 5th, the feast-day of his patron saint, was kept by the Pope in attending the High Mass celebrated by

¹ BAUER, II., 38 *seqq.*; *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, V²., 332.

² *Papst Pius VI. in München*, 49 *seqq.*

³ I. G. FRELING, *Einzug Papsts Pius' VI. in Augsburg den 2. Mai 1782* (an interesting broadsheet); ZAPF, *Gesch. aller Feierlichkeiten und Handlungen, welche bey Höchster Gegenwart Sr. Päpstl. Heiligkeit Pius VI. in des H. römischen Reichstadt Augsburg vorgefallen*, Augsburg, 1782 (with information about further news-sheets and pamphlets); GENDRY, I., 279; DINI, 34 *seqq.*; BAUER, II., 56 *seqq.*

⁴ The speech before the city council was delivered by Fleiner: "Rede, welche bei der unter dem 2. Mai 1782 von S. P. Heiligkeit Pius VI. dem gesamten katholischen Magistrat erteilten Audienz von dem Reichstadt-augsburgischen *Oratore* Fleiner gehalten worden." Printed in 1782. Cf. BAUER, II., 63; *Lettres*, *loc. cit.*, Pt. 3, pp. 24 *seqq.*; *Acta*, *loc. cit.*, 14 *seq.*

⁵ "Sendschreiben an einen Freund über die Anrede des Herrn Rector Mertens in Augspurg an Pius VI., welche er kniend gehalten, 1782." This was countered by Hieronymus Mertens' "Über den papstl. Besuch der Augspurgischen Stadtbibliothek am 4. Mai 1782", 1783. Cf. BAUER, II., 75 *seqq.*

Klemens Wenzeslaus. The example set by the Bavarian Elector in making a farewell gift ¹ to his revered guest was followed by the city council.²

The Papal party, which had already been away from Rome for two and a half months, now turned south again, across the Alps. The first places where the night was spent were Kempten and Innsbruck.³ At Matri, a market village on the Brenner, the parish priest, Peter Walder, presented a petition in Latin to the Pope,⁴ asking him to bless some bread which had been given for the benefit of the local poor and for a happy ending to the journey. This wish the Pope was pleased to grant.⁵ At Brixen he celebrated the feast of the Ascension and then went on past Bozen and Trent to Rovereto, receiving everywhere a hearty greeting from the people and assistance from the Austrian authorities. Entering Venetian territory again

¹ Of a chalice valued at 80,000 guilders, which the Pope used for the first time on the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, in Rome. BAUER, II., 54; KAPFER, *loc. cit.*, 112; Antici's *report to Karl Theodor, June 29, 1782, *loc. cit.*

² In his *Brief of thanks, sent from Rome on July 27, 1782, "Dilectis filiis, praefecto, consulibus, senatoribus reipublicae Augustanae catholicae," Pius VI. lamented the religious cleavage in the imperial city and hoped "Utinam opinio illa, quam apud eos de Nobis invaluisse scribitis, initium quoddam sit divinae gratiae eorum corda veritatis lumine collustrantis, ac ad antiquam cum Ecclesiae capite communionem inclinantis". *Epist.*, 179, fo. 149, Papal Secret Archives. In 1790 the Pope's stay in Augsburg was recalled in the **Epist.*, 186, fo. 114, *ibid.* Pius VI. had become a popular figure in Germany. In the Bregenz Museum, for instance, there are two cast-iron firebacks of 1785, with the Pope's likeness. Legend of the Augsburg souvenir medal in ZAPF, *loc. cit.*, 79.

³ On May 7. Cf. ZOLLER, *Gesch. von Innsbruck*, II., 262 *seq.*

⁴ DINI, 39. Matri No. 58 bears the inscription "Benedictio Pii VI. sit super te Matrey et super panes tuos in saecula, 1782".

⁵ DINI, 39 *seqq.*; BAUER, II., 89 *seqq.*; SCHLITTER, 23 *seqq.*; GENDRY, I., 281. A marble tablet on the schoolhouse at Barwies, near Innsbruck, commemorates the Pope's passage through the village.

he passed through Verona¹ and Padua² and arrived at the City of the Lagoons itself, which sheltered him for several days.³ He celebrated the feast of Pentecost in St. Mark's. Continuing his journey he held another public consistory at Imola in order to confer the red hat on Cardinal Mattei of Ferrara,⁴ and he also consecrated the cathedral there.⁵ On Corpus Christi he bore the Blessed Sacrament through the streets of his native city, Cesena, where also he imparted confirmation and consecrated a church.⁶ Then, after inspecting the harbour-works at Ancona, he finally returned to the Eternal City.⁷ Here, where he had forbidden any special

¹ From the top of the Arena here the Pope gave his blessing to a crowd of several thousands. *Cf. Hist.-pol. Blätter*, III., 518.

² "Allocuzioni della S. di N. S. Pio papa Sesto per occasione del suo viaggio a Vienna, con due brevi alla Chiesa di Padova e una pastorale del vescovo di essa città," Padua, 1782. On the Scuola del Santo is the inscription "Pius VI. prid. id. Mai. 1782". The Pope's progress through Vicenza is commemorated by a tablet and likeness in the Pinacoteca.

³ "Arrivo, soggiorno e partenza da Venezia di Pio VI.," Venice, 1782; "Storia del viaggio del S. Pont. Pio VI, colla descrizione della accoglienze, cerimonie e funzioni nei luoghi dove si fermò, e specialmente nel Veneto," Venice, 1782; "Storia del viaggio di Pio VI. nello stato Veneto 1782," Venice, 1782. Three sonnets on his stay were published by PILOT in the *Nuovo Arch. Veneto*, XXVI. (1913), 234 *seqq.* For the preparations for his reception and his stay, *cf.* especially COGGIOLA PITONI, *ibid.*, XXIX. (1915), 181 *seqq.*, 186 *seqq.*; in the appendix are some expense-sheets. Here also are three of the contemporary pictures by Guardi; the fourth of the series is described and reproduced by SIMONSON in the *Monatsheften für Kunstwiss.*, V. (1912), 15 *seq.* (*Te Deum* in SS. Giovanni e Paolo, in Venice.) Commemorative inscription on the staircase of the Scuola di San Rocco.

⁴ The Papal allocution of May 12 in *Lettres*, Pt. 3, pp. 30 *seqq.*; *Acta*, *loc. cit.*, 17 *seq.*

⁵ Allocution of May 28 (*Lettres*, 34 *seqq.*, and *Acta*, 18 *seqq.*).

⁶ Allocution of June 2 (*Lettres*, 48 *seqq.*, and *Acta*, 25 *seqq.*).

⁷ For the passage through Terni on June 11, *cf.* LANZI, *Terni*, 94, 96.

festivities to be held in his honour, he was welcomed at the Ponte Molle by two Cardinals and a huge crowd which accompanied him through the streets. To the ringing of the church bells and the firing of cannon he re-entered St. Peter's after an absence of nearly four months and proceeded to the Vatican, where he was received by the rest of the College of Cardinals.¹

Unfortunately, so far as its real object was concerned, the journey had not been successful, and it was really little more than an episode.² When Pius VI. rendered a report on it to the Senate of the Church in a consistory held on September 23rd almost all he could do was to give an exhaustive account of the externalities of the tour.³ In Vienna in the meantime anything but a change of mind had taken place.

(3)

Even when Pius VI. was in Vienna, in March and April 1782, there were issued a number of imperial decrees on ecclesiastical affairs which, showed no signs of having been prepared practically next door to where the Head of the Church

¹ GENDRY, I., 285 *seq.*; DINI, 70 *seq.*; BAUER, II., 107 *seq.*; CANCELLIERI, *Possessi*, 432 *seq.*; [BOURGOING], 253 *seqq.* Cf. Antici's *report to Karl Theodor of June 15, 1782, *loc. cit.* The "Arcadia" greeted him with some poems ("Al fausto ritorno dalla Germania di Pio VI P. M. glorios. regn. applaude Lucilla Neomenica (*i.e.* the Marchesa Anna Antinore, *née* Raffaelli) e la Colonia Augusta degli Arcadi raggiunta nella estiva sua Sede del Frontone"), Perugia, 1782. For the *Te Deum* in St. Peter's, cf. NOACK, *Deutsches Leben*, 106.

² The Roman *Pasquino* maliciously observed that the Pope had journeyed to Vienna to sing a Mass which had no "Gloria" for himself and no "Credo" for the emperor. SFORZA, *loc. cit.*, 444.

³ *Lettres*, 60 *seqq.*; *Acta*, 31 *seqq.*; *Bull. Cont.*, VI., 1, 926 *seq.* He alluded very carefully and in only general terms to his conversations with the emperor in Vienna. He had reported from Vienna to Rome on April 27 on the isolated points in which he had been successful, while the emperor boasted of not having given way on any point of importance. GENDRY, I., 287 *seqq.*

was lodging. Two Bishops of foreign extraction had their temporalities suspended, and Migazzi was threatened with the same treatment.¹ Though there were other matters,² it was principally the affairs of Lombardy that were occupying the emperor's attention at this time. In Lombardy there had now been in existence since 1765 the so-called *Giunta Economale*, a kind of ecclesiastical Court Commission for the regulation of every ecclesiastical arrangement that had not been instituted by Christ Himself, also of the highest ecclesiastical judicature.³ Additional measures of an Erastian nature had been introduced in recent years,⁴ and now the emperor was planning to take the most difficult step of all, the appropriation of the authority to confer benefices, especially bishoprics and abbacies. While the Pope was in Vienna, negotiations went on between Vienna and Milan, resulting, one may justifiably presume, in the decree of July 29th, 1782, reforming the system of conferring benefices, whereby the emperor appropriated to himself the exclusive right of nominating Bishops and abbots. In only a few exceptional cases was the right of recommendation conceded to the Pope.⁵ Also, the *Giunta Economale* of Milan was taken as the model for the Ecclesiastical Court Commission which was set up in Vienna in the summer of 1782. The emperor himself defined its terms of reference in twenty points, which contained the whole of the programme for ecclesiastical reform.⁶ This meant that a State authority had been set up over the Bishops.

Cf. also the end of Dini's diary in SCHLITTER, 27, n. 1. The Pope's statement that the emperor had promised to pay him a return visit was reported by Bernis to Vergennes on October 29, 1782. (*Corresp. des Directeurs*, XIV., 274 seq.)

¹ BRUNNER, *Theolog. Dienerschaft*, 423 seq.

² Relating to the censorship, for instance. *Cf.* *Handbuch*, I., 546, for the church calendar, the Bull *In coena Domini*, etc.

³ SCHLITTER, *Pius VI. und Joseph II.*, 125.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 28 seqq.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 34 seqq.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 42 seqq.; MITROFANOV, II., 690; HOCK, *Staatsrat*, 445 seqq. The president of the Ecclesiastical Court Commission

A few weeks before the appointment of this new commission, on July 2nd, 1782, Garampi reported to the Cardinal Secretary of State what he had been able to discover about the project up till then.¹ The Brief on the episcopal rights of property which Pius VI. sent to the emperor on August 3rd was probably the result of this report.² Written with all the finished courtesy and considerateness that were natural to the Pope, the Brief was a refutation, based on clear principles and supported by great scholarship, of the nationalization of ecclesiastical persons and possessions. It was founded, he said, on a sinful doctrine, which had been anathematized by the Fathers and others and was only to be found among heretics. He regretted that he had not explained the reasons for his objections to such plans at even greater length when he had had the opportunity of speaking to the emperor in person.

The imperial reply, which was drawn up on the very day on which the Brief arrived in Vienna, August 15th, stated that Garampi's information was erroneous, but its final sentence as good as confirmed it: the emperor heard a voice within him calling loudly that as legislator and protector of the Church he was to act in this way and in no other.³ The Pope appeared to be quite satisfied by this,⁴ and so there was not even a Papal protest in the way when, on October 5th, a patent decreed the subordination of the whole administration of ecclesiastical property to the superintendence and direction of the State. The promise was made, however, that the new administration would be entirely in the spirit, and in accordance with the object, of the respective foundations.

was Baron von Kresel; of the four *rapporteurs* two were from Austria, two from Hungary. The president was empowered to appoint an ecclesiastic as a fifth *rapporteur*, otherwise the commission was a wholly lay body. SCHLITTER (49) over-estimates its importance when he attributes to its influence the complete change that came over Austrian ecclesiastical policy.

¹ *Ibid.*, 163 *seq.*

² *Ibid.*, 98 *seqq.*

³ *Ib d.*, 52, clearly following WOLF, *loc. cit.*, III., 524.

⁴ SCHLITTER, 100 *seq.*

Of the many ordinances issued in 1782 one at least was to the liking of the Pope: the Court decree of December 15th, restricting the edict of toleration.¹ On the whole, however, there was cause enough for the remark made by the Cardinal Secretary of State on October 26th, that the mountain of sorrow and dismay that weighed upon the Pope's mind had grown again.² He may have had in mind the "Preachers' Critics", young men who distributed themselves among the various churches and published weekly accounts of the sermons they had heard, subjecting them to severe criticism and usually to ridicule.³ He may also have been thinking of Garampi's latest complaints about a fresh edict abolishing as "abuses" all exemptions from the episcopal authority.⁴ It was in this year too that the granting of indulgences was restricted by the State.⁵ It was only logical, therefore, that finally the Bishop should be deprived of his control of the ordering of divine services and that a Court decree of February 25th, 1783, should set up a scheme for the ordering of services that provided for the last detail.⁶ The number of Masses to be said each day was fixed, and the parishes in the capital were subjected to a system of control. Several proposals put forward by the Ecclesiastical Court Commission, such as the abolition of Latin as used in the liturgy, went too far and were rejected by the emperor. Cardinal Migazzi found that he had no alternative but to seek an audience of the

¹ *Ibid.*, 166 *seq.*, Garampi's dispatch of September 9, 1782.

² *Ibid.*, 56, n. 3.

³ Cf. Karoline Pichler's opinion (MITROFANOV, II., 789, n. 2).

⁴ Cf. *Verordnungen*, etc., II., 193 *seq.*; WOLFSGRUBER, 633 *seq.*; SCHLITTER, 167 *seq.*

⁵ WOLFSGRUBER, 686 *seqq.* For the regulation of May 7 requiring the *placet* for the granting of indulgences, *v. Verordnungen*, etc., II., 249.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 393 *seqq.* The model for this was the instruction issued to his clergy in April, 1782, by the Bishop of Gurk, Count Auersperg: KUSEJ, *Joseph II. und die äussere Kirchenverwaltung Innerösterreichs* (STUTZ, *Kirchenrechtl. Abhandlungen*, XLIX.-L. [1908], 9 *seqq.*).

emperor and to tell him frankly what were the real origins of such proposals.¹

Far more damage was done to the religious life of Austria by two other acts of legislation that were perpetrated at this time. These were the patent of January 16th, 1783,² by which marriage, regarded as a civil contract, was completely severed from its sacramental quality, and as such was subjected without restriction to the authority of the State; the State alone could define impediments to marriage and dispense from them. This was opposed by Cardinal Migazzi in a firmly worded exposition of the Church's doctrine on marriage, whereupon, in the summer, an official explanation of the patent, substantiating the viewpoint of the State, was published at the order of the emperor. This was done at Kaunitz's suggestion and with the co-operation of Sonnenfels. Nevertheless, Migazzi, in a pastoral letter which lacked the prescribed *placet*, was bold enough to charge the clergy with strict adherence to the Church's doctrine. Pius VI. also apprised Cardinal Herzan of his extreme indignation at this Josephian act of force.³

The second incisive enactment was the suppression of the religious confraternities,⁴ 116 of which were known to exist in Vienna alone. Their place was to be taken by a single confraternity "for the practical love of one's neighbour in respect of the helpless poor". Its direction was entrusted to the Bishops on August 9th.⁵

The most extensive undertaking to which the emperor set

¹ WOLFSGRUBER, 711, and Migazzi's written declaration of January 21, 1783 (*ibid.*, 711 *seqq.*).

² *Ibid.*, 645 *seqq.*

³ Garampi had reported on this on March 8, 1783 (SCHLITTER, 173), but the words spoken by the Pope on April 5 did not refer to the report. BRUNNER, *Theolog. Dienerschaft*, 89 *seq.*

⁴ Report of the Ecclesiastical Commission to the emperor, of February 28, 1783 (*ibid.*, 406 *seq.*). For the preliminary measures, cf. *Verordnungen*, etc., I., 405 *seq.*; MITROFANOV, II., 698.

⁵ *Verordnungen*, etc., I., 257 *seqq.* On November 27, 1783, the Marian Congregations were also declared suppressed (*ibid.*, II.,

his hand at this period was the reorganization of the cure of souls. The motives for this were set out in a letter to the president of the Ecclesiastical Court Commission of January 17th, 1783.¹ The distribution of the pastoral offices, both higher and lower, was to be more in conformity with existing needs. Also, the training of the clergy was to be carried out on a more uniform basis.

The first objective in this direction which Joseph II. had in view was a rearrangement of dioceses, with no foreign Ordinaries. It must be admitted that in this matter the situation was extremely confused.² The whole of Upper Austria and most of Lower Austria belonged to the diocese of Passau, whose Bishop, an independent prince of the empire, had a regular consistory of his own in Vienna, beside that of the Archbishop of that see. Moreover, considerable portions of Tirol, Carniola, Bohemia, Silesia, and Galicia were subject to foreign Bishops, while the few really Austrian dioceses were uncommonly small. As a result of a proposal made by the Bishop of Laibach in the autumn of 1781 the emperor had a diocesan map made of his dominions, and this showed that the whole situation cried out for reform. The first draft of the plan for reform was ready by the spring, at which juncture the Pope's co-operation was thought to be indispensable; afterwards there was no further mention of it,³ though in the end the emperor did want to put the whole scheme before the Pope.⁴ In certain particulars changes had already been made, such as the allotment of the district of Wiener-Neustadt to the bishopric of Neustadt.⁵ The chief task, however, was the reorganization of the districts subject to Passau. The Pope expressed to Herzan his disapproval of this arbitrary procedure

604 *seqq.*). For the management of the confraternities' funds, *v.* BRUNNER, *loc. cit.*, 410 *seq.*; for Migazzi's efforts to stimulate the new, unified confraternity, *v.* WOLFSGRUBER, 718 *seq.*

¹ SCHLITTER, 58 *seq.*

² *Cf.* KUSEJ, *loc. cit.*; MITROFANOV, II., 680.

³ *Cf.* the resolution of April 29, 1782 (*ibid.*, 59 *seq.*, 64 *seqq.*).

⁴ *Ibid.*, 68 *seq.*, 75 *seq.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 46 *seq.*

on Vienna's part.¹ When Count von Auersperg, who up till then had been Bishop of Gurk and had been the emperor's consultant in the whole affair, was translated to the see of Passau, which had fallen vacant, he loyally offered to mediate, but was repulsed by Vienna. The emperor was hoping that the Pope would agree to his scheme when taken as a whole and finally he had it communicated to Rome by Garampi on September 12th, 1783.² A subsequent letter from the emperor listing the persons who were to be nominated to the new sees, compelled the Pope to take official cognizance of the situation. The emperor, without waiting for the Papal decision, proceeded with his usual arbitrariness and on November 18th carried out the diocesan rearrangement and nominated the new dignitaries.³

Meanwhile another incident had occurred which nearly brought about an open rupture between Rome and Vienna. On the death of Pozzobonelli, Cardinal Archbishop of Milan, Joseph II., on his own authority, nominated as his successor Canon Filippo Visconti. When in September Herzan handed the Pope the imperial letter of nomination, the Pope accepted it but said that he would not reply to it until he had had time to give it his careful attention.⁴ In his reply of November 15th⁵ Pius VI. again went to the root of Josephism and attacked his adversary with his own canonistic weapons. In so doing he came to the conclusion that the emperor was not entitled to take the step, either by the nature of the imperial authority or by the law of usage, and that the nominee could assume office only as a usurper, never as a pastor. He again made it clear that any lay patronage was out of the question and that according to Vienna's way of thinking the Apostles themselves would be usurpers. Finally he reminded the emperor of his

¹ At an audience on April 5, 1783. Cf. BRUNNER, *loc. cit.*, 87 *seqq.*

² SCHLITTER, 176 *seq.*

³ KUSEJ, 77 *seq.*

⁴ SCHLITTER, 67, 156.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 101-121, a thorough discussion. Cf. *ibid.*, 155 *seqq.*, 69.

coronation oath of loyalty to the Church and warned him that he was in imminent danger of falling into heresy.

Joseph II. had not yet been sufficiently tried by fate to understand the Pope's language and the justice of the Papal principles. Accordingly he merely had a copy taken of the Brief and sent the original back again by return, accompanied by a short note in which he made things appear as if the Pope could not have meant his letter to be taken seriously. His own conscience was clear, he protested, and his measures were justified by their expediency.¹

Much as Prince Kaunitz might have liked it, Joseph II. did not allow a breach with Rome to come about. He took a step which in the circumstances was completely unexpected. On the morning of December 6th, 1783, he set out, with as little ceremony as possible, for Italy, with the purpose, which he did not immediately divulge, of paying the Pope a surprise visit. In the autumn and winter of 1782-83 there had been talk of such a project,² and the Pope had invited his former host to pay him a return visit,³ but that he would actually do so at this particular juncture was the last thing to be expected.

By December 20th Joseph II. was in Florence, as he had foreseen he would be, and he now communicated his intention to Herzan, with whom he proposed to lodge in order to preserve a strict incognito.⁴ Meanwhile the Pope had written again

¹ Joseph II. to Pius VI., November 27, 1783 (SCHLITTER, 69 *seq.*).

² The emperor had written to Herzan about the project in November, but had said that the time was not yet favourable. *Ibid.*, 72, n. 4.

³ *Ibid.*, 121 *seq.*

⁴ "I propose to alight at your residence, change my clothes, go with you straight to the Pope without previous enquiry, and accost him in his room by way of a back staircase." Joseph II. to Herzan, from Florence, December 20, 1783 (*ibid.*, 74). Cf. Antici's *report to Elector Karl Theodor, of December 20, 1783; he had already informed the Elector in his *reports of November 29 and December 6, 1783, that there were rumours of the impending journey. State Archives, Munich, Kasten schwarz 275/8.

to Vienna, showing that he was prepared to take the most accommodating attitude towards the diocesan alterations and the filling of the see of Milan if only the rights of the Church were not assailed in principle. And then, on December 23rd, the emperor suddenly appeared in Rome.¹ After a short rest in Herzan's apartments he went straight off to the Pope. It was perhaps the most extraordinary royal visit that the Vatican had ever witnessed. After a long and cordial talk the two heads of Christendom repaired to St. Peter's. The next day the emperor was with the Pope again, and he was present at the ceremonies of Christmas conducted by the Pope. At High Mass he stood at the foot of the Papal altar with the King of Sweden; everyone was impressed with his reverent demeanour.² He had confidential talks with the Pope on two more days and then he took leave of him before going on to Naples.

The outcome of these lengthy negotiations is still a matter of conjecture. It is thought, for example, that on December 28th the Pope finally waived his right of presentation to the Milanese bishoprics in Joseph's favour—not as emperor but as Duke of Milan—probably after Joseph had threatened him

¹ The emperor was mistaken for the King of Sweden, who was expected in Rome at the same time (*ibid.*, 77; see above, p. 104). Joseph II. to Leopold, December 24, 1783 (ARNETH, *Correspondenz*, I., 196; GENDRY, II., 5).

² Turati to Kaunitz, December 27, 1783 (SCHLITTER, 159). Cf. DINI's diary, *ibid.*, 197 *seq.* In his *report to Karl Theodor of December 27, 1783, Antici makes the following comments on this curious pair of princes: the German emperor and the protector of the Church has come to Rome to treat of the most delicate affairs, while the successor of Gustavus Adolphus is positively overflowing with expressions of friendship. "Il gruppo di questi sovrani in Roma meriterebbe certamente la penna di un Voltaire." Antici goes on to speak of the emperor's unassuming behaviour when in company or when on his way to the Pope, and of the King of Sweden's request to the Pope to allow him to hold a Lutheran service in his house in Rome, which request was granted after the Christmas service. State Archives, Munich, Kasten schwarz 275/8.

with the worst possible eventualities and remembering that other Catholic princes had been granted similar indulgences.¹ And so, forced by circumstances, the Pope made the necessary sacrifice.

The formal settlement of the matter was to be a friendly convention, the text of which was left to Herzan to compose.² When Joseph returned from Naples on January 18th, 1784, the draft had been prepared. The next two days he had further talks with the Pope on the wording of the convention³ and then, on the 21st, obviously satisfied with the result, he left the Eternal City.

The deed of agreement took the form of a declaration dated January 20th, 1784, and made and signed by Pius VI.⁴ By it the Pope, in virtue of his plenary apostolic power, transferred to the emperor, as Duke of Milan, the right of nomination to the bishoprics, abbeys, and other institutions in the duchies of Milan and Mantua which he had hitherto exercised himself. It was not till the negotiations had been concluded that the emperor informed his chief Minister, Prince Kaunitz, of the agreement that had been reached.⁵ The wording of the letter seems to betray a certain embarrassment at not having succeeded in inducing the Pope to acknowledge the State's authority to nominate as a matter of principle; nevertheless, what had been attained was in actual fact a victory for the emperor. Unlike Pius VI. after his visit to Germany, Joseph was not going home empty-handed.

The emperor's journey to Rome had no effect on the internal ecclesiastical measures which were applied to the Austrian parishes, religious houses, and bishoprics in the years that followed. They had already been well under way years before.⁶ Thus, to ensure a more even distribution of parishes, an

¹ SCHLITTER, 208 *seqq.*

² BRUNNER, *Theol. Dienerschaft*, 95 *seq.*; SCHLITTER, *loc. cit.*

³ *Ibid.*, 213 *seq.* For his other activities in Rome, his inspection of the monuments, etc., *cf.* DINI's diary, *ibid.*, 197-201.

⁴ MERCATI, *Concordati*, 514 *seq.*; SCHLITTER, 201 *seqq.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 193 *seq.*

⁶ *Cf.* above, p. 439.

ordinance of October 20th, 1782, listed the places where a new one was called for.¹ This made an increase of parishes possible, especially in the mountainous districts. On the other hand, the closing of the chapels and smaller churches which also took place at this time, owing to their being regarded as redundant by the utilitarian Government, was resented by the country folk.²

Still more incisive and alarming was the first large-scale suppression of the religious houses that is associated with the name of Joseph II. The motives that prompted it were not so much of an anti-clerical as of a political economic nature, for while many of the Bishops would have liked to make a clean sweep of all the religious houses,³ the emperor suffered those to remain which could be fitted into the political scheme. Certainly the imperial Government considered itself entitled to eliminate with a stroke of the pen the other houses, which seemed to be contributing nothing to the common good,⁴ but it cannot be denied that in many instances a dangerously worldly spirit had established itself in the religious Orders. Some houses were closed by the Government on account of their economic abuses.⁵ The relevant laws were promulgated under date January 12th, 1782.⁶ One of them ordered the hermits and *Waldbrüder* to lay aside their habit within a fortnight, and it regulated their terms of ownership. The principal law announced the closing of the houses of the Carthusians and

¹ KUSEJ, § 28.

² GOTHEIN, 87 ; KUSEJ, *loc. cit.* ; FRANZ, *Studien zur kirchlichen Reform Josephs II., mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des vorder-österreichischen Breisgaus* (1908), 245.

³ *Ibid.*, 122. Cf. A. WOLF, *Eleonore v. Liechtenstein*, 166 ; HITTMAYER, *Der josephinische Klostersturm im Lande ob der Ems* (1907), 400.

⁴ FRANZ, 48 *seq.*

⁵ Seckau is said to have applied for its suppression of its own accord, although it was found afterwards that there were large assets. KUSEJ, § 26 ; A. WOLF, *Die Aufhebung der Klöster in Innerösterreich*, 69 *seq.*

⁶ *Handbuch*, II., 263 *seq.*, 268.

Camaldolese, Carmelite nuns, Capuchinesses, Franciscan Sisters, and Poor Clares, and their manner of life in the future was laid down for them in detail. By a Court decree issued on the following day the Institute of the Third Order was condemned to a gradual death and its property was taken over by the State.¹ By a Court decree of February 28th the sequestrated properties of the religious houses, except for the pensions payable, were amalgamated in a religious and parochial fund, to be applied to ecclesiastical and charitable purposes.² A large proportion of the regular clergy was subordinated to the episcopacy and after having passed a test of fitness was allotted to ordinary pastoral work, while the religious foundations that had been spared were required to set up new parishes.³

The actual number of the religious houses that were suppressed by Joseph II. has often been overestimated.⁴ According to a report of the first Court Chancellor, 413 houses situated in Austro-German districts had been secularized by 1791; this amounts to about two thirds of the women's houses and a third of the men's.⁵ All the same, it was a measure that had a deep effect on the religious life of the country. Age-old institutions which had grown up in intimate association with the culture of the country⁶—many of them in fact had been its originators—were sacrificed to the utilitarian mania. An

¹ *Ibid.*, 272.

² *Ibid.*, 267, 272. Cf. GOTHEIN, 86; FRANZ, 241; HOCK, *Staatsrat*, 415 *seqq.*

³ *Handbuch*, II., 226; KUSEJ, 243.

⁴ The most reliable figures for a particular district are to be found in HITTMAIR, *loc. cit.*, 516 *seqq.* For the whole of Austria proper, cf. A. WOLF, *loc. cit.*, 52 *seq.*; LINDNER, *Die Aufhebung dër Klöster in Deutschtirol 1782-1787*, in the journal of the Ferdinandeum, Innsbruck, 1886. Lists of houses suppressed by Joseph II. in the districts forming the western half of the Austrian monarchy are contained in the *Archival. Zeitschrift*, V. (1894), 234 *seqq.*, VI. (1896), 229 *seqq.*, VII. (1897), 46 *seqq.*

⁵ FRANZ, 136.

⁶ Cf., e.g., A. WOLF, 47, 129, 162.

essential element in the life of the people was thus endangered. On the other hand, it does not speak well for the religious houses that most of their inmates, as is shown by the deeds of suppression, offered no resistance to their secularization¹ and that the Catholic population made little or no effort to support them in their time of need.²

It must be emphasized that even before their confiscation the riches of the monasteries were often used for purposes of public utility. These establishments not only provided mills and forges, they made loans and held public securities.³ The amount of the taxes paid by the monasteries for special purposes in times of peace as well as war was astonishingly high.⁴ In addition, they provided out of their own means for the maintenance of numerous parishes and schools, they looked after the poor, and they fostered art and learning. Through their suppression much that was of cultural value was wasted or destroyed.⁵ Works of art that could be melted down at once were sent to the mint in Vienna; other kinds were collected in depots and soon there was such an abundance of them that their value fell, and finally the company controlled by the Jewess Dobruska and chartered by the emperor was authorized to sell them abroad.⁶ What happened to the

¹ Cf. the information, *ibid.*, 58, also in each case of the suppressions listed on pp. 64 *seqq.*, especially pp. 113, 122; FRANZ, 123, 164 *seq.*

² The largest foundations received the least assistance. HITTEMAIR, *loc. cit.*, 177.

³ This last point refers even to contemplative nuns (A. WOLF 54, 164).

⁴ *Ibid.*, 54; FRANZ, 284 *seq.*

⁵ MITROFANOV, II., 693 *seq.* FRANZ (133 *seq.*) sizes up the situation pretty fairly. One church fell into Protestant hands (HITTEMAIR, 186), another was turned into a theatre (*ibid.*, 235 *seq.*). For the lack of reverence shown by the emperor himself in the case of the Carthusian monastery of Gaming, cf. BRUNNER, *Mysterien*, 288 *seqq.* Cf. *ibid.*, 416.

⁶ HITTEMAIR, 352 *seq.* Even Mass vestments, church linen, and so forth, were included.

libraries was also significant: items that seemed to be of outstanding value were absorbed in the Court Library in Vienna, while countless theological works were simply used as wastepaper.¹

Along with its suppression of many of the religious houses the State did not omit to interfere most grievously with the life of those allowed to survive.² The most important measure in this direction was the creation by Court decree of March 25th, 1786, of the Institute of the Commendatory Abbots.³ When an abbacy fell vacant, no new abbot was to be elected, but a prior, who was to be elected for three years and was to settle questions of internal discipline, while economic, pastoral and public duties were to be performed by a non-mitred, commendatory abbot appointed by the State.⁴

It was also resolved about this time to interfere even more than before with the training of the clergy. A discussion arose in the Commission for Studies whether the independent training establishments of the Orders should be allowed to continue, a question which was answered in the negative by the majority of the members. Accordingly, on September 10th, 1782, the emperor decreed the abolition of conventual studies and, in their stead, the erection of State-controlled general seminaries in every province for the training of young members of the secular and regular clergy before their ordination.⁵ The scheme for the organization of these new foundations was drafted by Abbot Rautenstrauch. Cardinal Migazzi, in a

¹ FRANZ, 52; *ibid.*, 135, an order to this effect. MITROFANOV, II., 695.

² For example, with the prayers said in choir. HITTMAYER, 290; FRANZ, 148.

³ HITTMAYER, 279 *seq.*

⁴ This arrangement did not last long, as it was abolished by Leopold II. on July 27, 1790.

⁵ MITROFANOV, II., 705 *seq.*; BEIDTEL, 69; FRANZ, 50 *seqq.*; WOLFSGRUBER, 542 *seqq.*; G. WOLF, *Kaiser Joseph II. und die österr. Generalseminarien*, in RAUMER'S *Hist. Taschenbuch*, 5th series, VII. (1877), 333 *seqq.*; HOCK, *Staatsrat*, 495 *seqq.*; RÖSCH, in the *Archiv für kath. Kirchenrecht*, LXXXIV. (1904), 506 *seqq.*

detailed memorandum, raised numerous objections to it and advocated in particular the episcopal superintendence of the new institutions,¹ whereas the president of the Ecclesiastical Commission held exactly the opposite view. Consequently Migazzi lodged a formal protest on July 19th.² Finally the emperor came out in defence of the Tridentine decrees on the seminarian training of the clergy, which were contested on principle by the Court Commission.³ This reform, like many others of Joseph II.'s, was not without the most undesired effects in the matter of vocations to the priesthood. The more the training of the clergy was taken out of the hands of the Bishops and their institutions, the less inclination there was to enter the clerical state.⁴ Another factor in the situation was that for years past this profession, more than any other, had been the target for every kind of abuse and had been regarded with contempt by all and sundry ; the censorship, otherwise so strict, allowed the most incredible things to go through when it was a question of baiting the clergy.

The last important group of Josephian reforms in ecclesiastical conditions embraced the alterations in the diocesan arrangement that were carried out midway between 1780 and 1790. The attempt with Passau failed so long as Pius VI. was able to hold the emperor to more legal methods of procedure, but now even the newly elected Bishop, on receiving an ultimatum, put his name to the declaration submitted to him by Vienna, that in return for a yearly donation he renounced his diocesan rights in all the Austrian portions of his diocese, also most of the episcopal possessions there. The regions above and below the Enns went to form the ecclesiastical province of Vienna, with the suffragan sees of St. Pölten (replacing Wiener-Neustadt) and Linz.⁵

¹ WOLFSGRUBER, 552.

² *Ibid.*, 554.

³ *Ibid.*, 556.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 568 *seqq.*

⁵ The Bulls of erection for both dioceses, of January 28, 1785, were read out in the consistory of February 14. KUSEJ, § 8A ; WOLFSGRUBER, 763 *seqq.* Cf. above, p. 352.

Similarly Bohemia, with the archbishopric of Prague and the bishoprics of Leitmeritz, Königgrätz, and Budweis, was to constitute a compact ecclesiastical province,¹ but this was not entirely successful, as the Egerland was provided with its own episcopal commissaryship only within the borders of the diocese of Ratisbon. Other desiderata which were never fulfilled were the settlement with Breslau² and the clarification of the complicated situation in the Austrian Forelands.³

Of greater importance would have been an agreement with the Prince Archbishop of Salzburg, whose suffragans at Gurk, Lavant, and Seckau, were scarcely more than Vicars General.⁴ The Archbishop, Colloredo, offered to come to an agreement, but his terms were not good enough for the imperial Government. After dragging on for nearly two years, the business ended with Vienna receiving less concessions than had been offered at the start. In the treaty of April 19th, 1786, the Archbishop renounced his diocesan rights in favour of the Bishops of Gurk, Lavant, Seckau, and Leoben, but he retained his rights as Metropolitan and certain rights of nomination. The Papal approbation was given in a consistorial decree of March 26th, 1787.⁵

Another provision of the scheme for the rearrangement of the Austrian dioceses was the transference of the archbishopric of Gorizia to Laibach. But the prelate concerned, Count Edling, was not agreeable, and it was only after a Papal audience on July 20th, 1784, at which Cardinal Herzan, the imperial Minister, was allowed to have his say, that he could be brought to announce his resignation.⁶ Fresh difficulties arose when the successor nominated by the emperor, Karl Joseph, Count of Herberstein, the then Bishop of Laibach,

¹ KUSEJ, § 8B.

² *Ibid.*, C.

³ The emperor was thinking of erecting a see of St. Blasien. GOTHEIN, *Der Breisgau*, 74 seq.; GEIER, *Die Durchführung der kirchl. Reformen Josephs II. im vorderösterr. Breisgau*, 26 seq.

⁴ KUSEJ, § 9, II.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 340 seqq.

⁶ BRUNNER, *Theolog. Dienerschaft*, 100 seq., 105 seq., 108 seq.

failed to obtain the Papal approbation owing to his notoriously enlightened views.¹ Nor could a declaration by Herberstein, forwarded by Kaunitz, dispel Rome's doubts.² That his refusal to approve of Herberstein was due to personal antipathy was denied by the Pope; he was, he said, working on a Brief for the Bishop. This he passed to Gerdil for his perusal at the beginning of July, 1787. Finally, on July 21st, the Brief was on its way, with a covering letter for the emperor.³ The Pope's lengthy explanations, however, had a poor reception in Vienna, where the letter was regarded as a refusal.⁴ Further efforts on the part of the Government were rendered purposeless by Herberstein's death on October 6th.

The filling of other episcopal sees was the cause of further trouble with the Curia. Having filled the sees of Linz and St. Pölten without any reference to Rome, the emperor had to wait in vain for these appointments to be ratified in a Papal consistory.⁵ More ill-feeling was caused in 1785, when the Netherlands Government forbade the Bishop of Ypres, who was yet to be ordained, to sign the special pledge of loyalty to the Bull *Unigenitus*, as was customary in Belgium.⁶ After Vienna had rejected offers of mediation, the Pope explained to Cardinal Herzan at an audience given on June 20th, 1785, the purely objective reasons for his absolutely insisting on making the demand; then, informing the Cardinal that more detailed instructions had been sent to Garampi in Vienna, he cut short all further discussion.⁷ In Vienna, at the same time, Cardinal Migazzi was being pressed to resign the bishopric of Waitzen,

¹ And especially owing to his pastoral letter on toleration issued in 1782; v. KUSEJ, 210 *seqq.*; BRUNNER, *loc. cit.*, 140 *seqq.*; HOCK, *Staatsrat*, 478.

² BRUNNER, 136.

³ *Ibid.*, 164.

⁴ This, according to Herzan's dispatch of August 18, 1787, was the view expressed to him by the Cardinal Secretary of State (*ibid.*, 166).

⁵ Herzan on October 10, 1784, *ibid.*, 110.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 122 *seqq.*

⁷ Herzan's dispatch of June 22, 1785 (*ibid.*, 124 *seqq.*).

which he was administering.¹ In spite of an imperial patent of February 10th, 1785, by which all holders of plural benefices had to opt for one or other of them within a month, Migazzi, in view of the scanty size of his two bishoprics, had failed to present any such petition. Consequently a decree of July 10th announced that the see of Waitzen was to be treated as vacant, against which decision Migazzi protested, calling attention to his consistently impeccable fulfilment of his official duties. By way of reply the Cardinal received a curtly worded instruction to appoint an agent to surrender the benefices of his Hungarian bishopric. The conscientious prelate refused to lend a hand himself to this breach of the law but decided to make a choice, forced though it was, between the two sees. He chose the more onerous and less lucrative one, that of the imperial capital. His resignation of Waitzen on December 22nd, 1785, was ratified by the Pope, and on February 4th he formally relinquished the jurisdiction. Pius VI. had demonstrated once again that provided only that the fundamental rights of the Apostolic See were recognized, he was ready to follow any course that avoided an open conflict with the holder of the highest temporal position, exacting though he was. On the other hand, the Pope's continual compliance may be held to be one of the reasons for the swift and extensive execution of the Josephian reforms.

¹ For what follows, *cf.* WOLFSGRUBER, 73 *seqq.*; MITROFANOV, II., 681.

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